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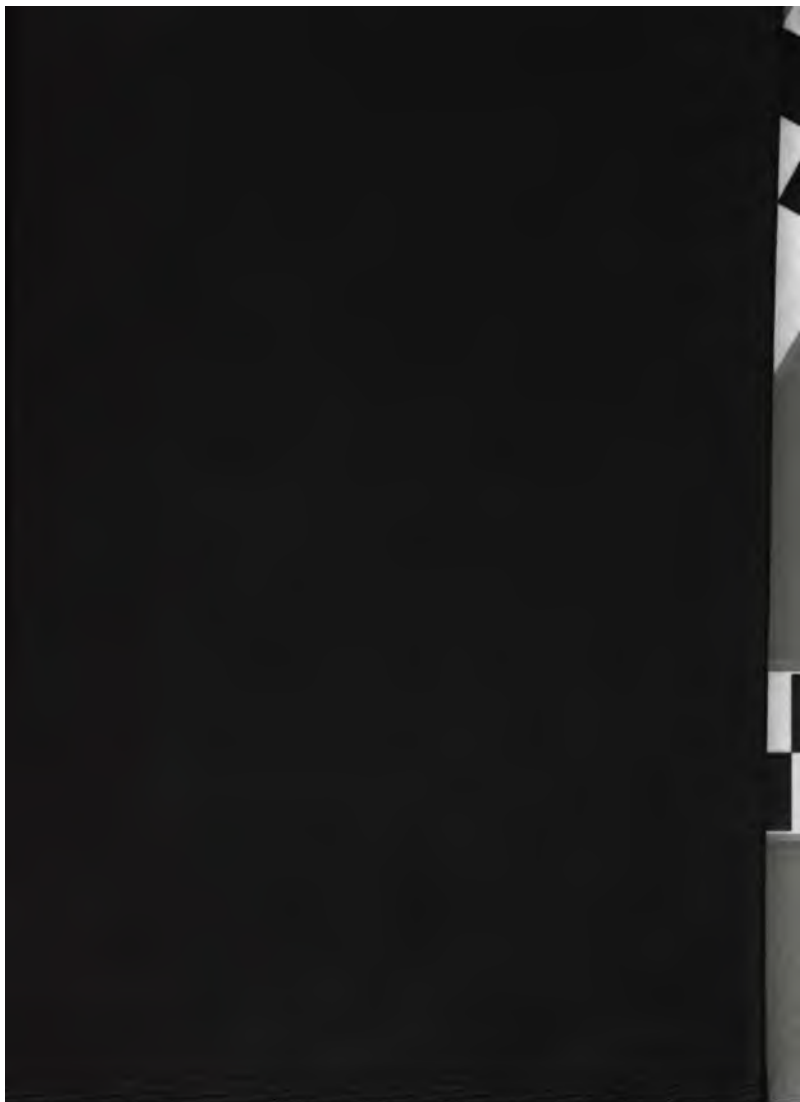
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IRELAND, ITS WANTS AND CAPABILITIES;

OR,

THE POLICY AND NECESSITY

OF

SOME CHANGES IN IRELAND,

AND

THOSE CHANGES SUGGESTED.

BY DONALD BAIN,

ACCOUNTANT IN EDINBURGH.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri, multa magis ab amico.

"First Flower of the Earth and first Gem of the Sea!"
Believe though in anger, or sorrow, I speak—

While the Waters of Violence continually flow,
Should the wall of RATHCONRAG compare with GLENCOR?

Yet that even was just in intent—
Can order begin till disorder shall cease?
The beginning of wealth is of wisdom, is peace:

Go, Ireland! be rival of SCOTLAND in this,
Then talk of thy beauty, and hope for her bliss.

Verses on leaving Ireland in 1835. ANON.

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NOTE.

THERE are many intelligent, many talented, and many patriotic men in Ireland ; none can be more sensible of the wants or capabilities of their country than they, nor, in appearance, more ready to supply the wants, and take advantage of the capabilities : These things are admitted : Still Ireland is, as a whole, less informed, less peaceable, less prosperous, and less happy, than the other portions of the Empire ; costs more expence to govern it in proportion to its people ; and that expence is attended with fewer good effects immediate and prospective. In short, from one cause or another, it is the seat of eternal turmoil and misery in itself, and a source of disquiet to the rest of the United Kingdom. ~~This should not be. From whatever cause proceeding, this is improper, and should have an end.~~

I have endeavoured to lead to this end, by plainly speaking out. Flattery to individuals is pernicious—to a country, pernicious and ridiculous. Ireland may be what it will, but it is behind its neighbours. The other portions of the empire are blamed for this, and certainly most improperly. These things are not only imputations upon the intelligence of the empire generally, but they also implicate its justice. This authorizes every one to state explicitly the causes of the misfortunes of Ireland, and how in his judgment they may be cured ; and hence the liberty I have taken. 12

may be that have I been misinformed as to many of the wants of Ireland; and that many of its undoubted wants have been exaggerated. If it has been belied either by enemies or by pretended friends, it is to be regretted; but after every deduction, there must be much in it to amend.

The following suggestions are imperfect, from many causes; and from none more than this, that proceeding from one in no authority, they may be useless. They were first intended for a single paper of no great length, in a periodical. They have since appeared in detached portions and anonymously. These account for their form, and even for some part of their substance; and they particularly account for their defects, for they have been written not only without hope, but against it. With the ear of a steady government, there is perhaps much in these suggestions that might be turned to use. As matters stand, I can only hope to have opened up the subject for more powerful and influential hands, by at least speaking fearlessly and explicitly. In these circumstances nothing could have induced me to give my name, but as an evidence of my sincerity of thought and purpose, and that what I say I avow.

D. B.

I, GAYFIELD PLACE,
Edinburgh, January 1836.

IRELAND, ITS WANTS AND CAPABILITIES.

IRELAND is undoubtedly one of the finest portions of this empire, yet, at present, the most unhappy;—one of the richest, and yet at present the most unproductive. With a population only equal to about one-third of that of the United Kingdom, it requires the presence of a military force of about twenty-three thousand men, being two thousand more than is required for all the other dependencies of the empire—greatly more than is required for England, with a population nearly double; and exceeding that required for Scotland in the proportion of more than three to one. Notwithstanding the extent of force employed in governing Ireland, it is by far the most turbulent part of the state—notwithstanding the money expended in governing and improving it, it is by far the poorest portion—with a liberal church establishment, and every species of endowment for education, it is by far the most *ignorant* portion of the state; the most criminal, the most disorderly, and every way miserable. So completely is this understood and acknowledged, that at last the idea of a change seems to be despaired of. Concession only leads to more extravagant demands—all yielding only to greater anarchy. Government after Government having left matters thus, and the gangrene, instead of improving, threatening only to spread farther, there is a necessity for at last enquiring into the cause, and resolutely exposing it, whatever it may be. This is not merely due to Ireland itself, but to the empire; and if our denunciation shall in any respect seem stern, it is not because we love Ireland less, but the empire more; for at last the peace and hap-

piness, and even the person and property, of every man in these kingdoms, seems likely to be compromised from that quarter. We premise further, that whereas it has been customary to trace all the misfortunes of Ireland to its Government, we are strongly of opinion, that all, or most, must be traced to its people ;—to their ignorance—meaning thereby their wilful ignorance, their thoughtlessness, their unsteadiness ;—all leading to the most foolish and headlong conduct in themselves, the most reckless and insane confidence in the persons from time to time rising up among them, and misleading them ; and the continual opposition to the LAW, without once seeking to improve it.

To those who have only heard of the miseries and the crimes of Ireland (and unfortunately these disclose themselves greatly too often), it may seem strange that, as a country, that is, for original capabilities, it is unequalled among the possessions of this empire ; yet this is the fact ; for, taking all things into account, its soil, its climate, its rivers, its canals, or capability of receiving them, the comparative absence of mountains and barrens, and the abundance of manures and materials for building, it exceeds even England itself in original capabilities, and should be the EL-DORADO of emigrants, in quest of plenty in return for industry ; and while utility is itself a beauty, and ingredient of value of the very highest order, Ireland has only to be seen, to impress in the deepest manner with its unessential beauties also ; the romanticity of its lakes and mountains, the beauty of its champagnes, and the seclusion and loveliness of many of its villages and towns. We say this, not only without fear of contradiction, but in the perfect confidence of being borne out, far beyond what we think it necessary to express ; and farther, that were Ireland known, as some parts of England and Scotland are, it would be admired and visited more generally *and enthusiastically* than even they are. From

Dublin to Cove, from Cove to Killybegs, and from Killybegs to Isle Valentin, the succession of pleasing or romantic scenery is unequalled in the same space in these islands. Then let any one look upon the SHANNON, from its mouth to its source in Loch-Allen, a distance of nearly two hundred and fifty miles, not only navigable, but for the most part navigable to the largest vessels, being from its very source of the depth of twenty feet, often from thirty to fifty; always several hundred yards in breadth, and in many instances opening into lakes of many miles; let any one look upon this river and its merely *useful* properties, and it is by far the finest river, not only in these kingdoms, but in any of our possessions, excepting India alone; and when the richness of the land through which it passes is considered, the value of the minerals, and other substances of use and beauty, and the splendor of its scenery, and, above all, that it is *AT HOME*, accessible to all, and ready to be rendered useful to all, and it is impossible, we think, not to regard it as something like a *national jewel*, an object by which the value of the empire is enhanced, and consequently an object of national affection and reverence.

Pass into the interior of the country, and from Loch-Allen to Belfast, there is a succession of the most romantic and beautiful scenes in Europe. Enniskillen, in the centre of this district, and about sixty miles from the sea, though one of the finest towns in the empire, is, at the same time, so romantically situated as to be worth a pilgrimage, from the beauty of its situation alone; and in many parts of Europe, it would be sought for upon that account. It is a large, well-built, populous, and prosperous town; but, placed where it is, on an island in the middle of a beautiful river, between two lakes of the most romantic beauty, and surrounded by wooded and cultivated hills, it cannot for a moment draw any admiration to itself, nor

subdue the beauties of its situation ; it is entirely secondary to its site—merely a worked ornament on the breast of nature. Although, in reality, a fine city, placed where it is, it seems merely a beautiful village—a hermitage unsuspected to exist by many, and wondered at when seen. Nor is this the only town of this description. Mr Inglis has said, that we have no adequate conception of the beauty or importance of *many* of the second-rate towns in Ireland, and he has said so truly ; and this is Ireland.

Yet what is this fine country to *the bulk* of its inhabitants ? What has it ever been ? We regret to say it,—almost a jewel in a swine's snout ! No traveller can pass through Ireland, almost in any direction, without admiring the country, and being in like proportion astonished at the sight of the majority of the people. Nature is magnificent—man is miserable. The country is princely—the people are beggars. Of course, we do not mean *all* the people,—that could not well be ; but we mean by far too great a majority. In a land of plenty, the labourer is starved ; in a land of beauty, he is all deformity and rags.

Such being IRELAND, and age after age having passed away, leaving its situation very little improved, and the cause of its misfortunes a sort of inexplicable mystery, we think it is time to make the attempt to lift the veil.

All who have written on the subject of Ireland concur in this, that at present there is much misery in it ; that the great bulk of the people, in fact, are poor, and consequently unhappy. Very many have of late been hinting at the causes of this poverty ; but it has been almost the uniform fate of all who have attempted to trace the miseries of this country, or to suggest remedies, that they have signally failed. If they have hit upon and established one fact, they have uniformly unhinged another, and consequently ended in plunging the subject into deeper mystery.

They have shewn no clear general knowledge of their subject—no settled principle ; and, being themselves uncertain, they have carried no conviction to others.

Mr Inglis, for example, states, that in the south and west of Ireland, he has found the peasantry uniformly poor, in many cases *in the last degree wretched* ; and the labouring classes, *with very few exceptions, in the same condition*. In LIMERICK, distress seems to be at its height, among a large proportion of even the artizans ; while the sickly and aged of these classes are in a state *too terrible for contemplation* ! Even in the north of Ireland, where the land-owners are unembarrassed and the merchants rich, and where, he thinks, and thinks truly, the very *race* is different from that of the other parts of Ireland, he finds the farmers poor, and every day becoming poorer, because, *while prices have fallen, rents remain unchanged* : and the labourers, though more comfortable than in the south and west, yet miserably stinted, labouring hard for the merest subsistence. He concludes by stating, that “ *the destitute, infirm, and aged form a large body of the cities, towns, and villages of Ireland* ;” these being too often (as he observes) driven from the rural districts after having wasted their best days there : That the present situation of this large class *is shocking for humanity to contemplate, and beyond the efforts of private beneficence to relieve* ! That the individuals whose charity prolongs for a little the existence of these miserable objects, are *not* the individuals whose harshness, improvidence, sordidness, and neglect have contributed to swell the mass of pauperism,” (meaning the LAND-OWNERS) ; “ nor those who possess the chief property in towns,” (meaning chiefly land proprietors again) ; nor those who are best able to help the indigent.”—“ That the condition of the agricultural labourers *throughout Ireland is scarcely less deplorable* ; that the supply of

agricultural labour incalculably exceeds the demand for it, and but a very small proportion of this class is able to find constant employment; that *almost the whole live on the very verge of starvation*, and that thereby hourly additions are made to the ranks of impotent pauperism."

Of the truth of all this, there is but too strong evidence; and Mr Inglis *had* occasional strong glimpses of the cause. But his light was neither strong nor steady. As an instance, he concludes, "that the power of restless or wicked men to influence the passions of the people, is derived *solely* from the condition in which these people are placed;" while it is obvious that both the condition of the people, and the power of foolish persons over them, are to be traced solely to *their ignorance*. "That the disorders of Ireland are *not owing to Popery*, since, in those districts where the people find employment, Catholic and Protestant are alike comfortable; while, in those where the people are unemployed, Protestant and Catholic are alike miserable"—forgetting that where Catholics are few, as in the districts alluded to where the people are comfortable, they have but little influence; while, where a half civilized set form a large proportion of the people, they necessarily drag the remainder along with them, by over-crowding the spot, and reducing the rate of wages, and consequently the power of comfortable subsistence. "That the disorders of Ireland are not in any *great* degree the result of *absenteeism*, since, with few exceptions, it is impossible to guess by the condition of the peasantry, whether the landlord be resident or absent;" forgetting that the mere presence or absence of a man is *nothing*, but what he does or causes to be done.

He wanders still farther as he proceeds, as follows:—"That absenteeism, so far as it is an evil, is but a result of more important causes of evil."

What are these? "The *real and only true source of the disorders of Ireland is want of em-*

ployment," occasioned by absenteeism, "improvidence, and ignorance: "For although the disturbed state of the country acts injuriously upon residence, and upon the investment of capital," (he should have said, as a *prohibition* to the investment of foreign capital), "this," (the disturbance), "is itself but a *result* of want of employment:" It is the *cause*; "and although the rack-rents of Ireland produce incalculable misery, these originate also in want of employment,—the only cause of that competition for land which puts the power of oppression in the hands of the owners:"—We think *ignorance* is certainly another, or the sole cause; for what but *utter* ignorance could produce such savage competition for patches upon which comfortable existence is impossible *upon any terms*; and particularly where not only the whole produce of the spot, but the whole labour of the individual in addition, must be given to the landlord for rent.

Another writer, of less pretension than Mr Inglis (for he confines himself to 48 pages), but not of less authority, and who, though he gives no name, is, we have reason to know, the Head of a public Board of great importance, in his "Letters on Ireland, 1831," writes as follows:—"The great source of the distress of this country is produced by the relation that has grown into system between landlord and tenant—the former getting very much too large a share of the profits of the agricultural produce." "The measure of the value of rent is habitually calculated to be, *all that can by possibility be seraped together*, after providing the most humble necessaries of life. The precise mode of subdivision of land that gives *the greatest possible immediate return of rent* has been by degrees introduced for the advantage of *the proprietor*, at the expense of *the total impoverishment of the other classes*."—"The body of the people are in fact weighed down by the rent. This is clearly perceptible as you go through the country. You will pass farms that are

well situated, having in the neighbourhood good roads, a navigable canal, a market within reach, or similar advantages. What is the result? Is the tenant richer or more prosperous? Not in the least; but the landlord gets a better rent."—"The *sole object* of the landlord is how to improve his rent—that of the tenant how to pay it."

This was written in 1831, and it has never been contradicted since, nor sought to be so. It is believed that nine in ten Irish landlords would be surprised to find it considered wrong, and that nine in ten would-be economists would join them, upon the great general principle, that every thing should be allowed to find its own level, and land among the rest. There cannot be a doubt at least, that this system of letting land is every way injurious, 1st, by splitting up the land into such minute portions, the people are accumulated upon it to by far too great an extent. Next, by paying such excessive rents to the land-owners, the cultivators are completely impoverished, and rendered unhappy. 3dly, They are disabled from either cultivating their land to advantage, or contributing any thing to the support of manufactures, either in the purchase of proper implements, or proper apparel—the whole produce of the soil, so far as they can scrape it from it, going to the support of the landowner, too often an absentee. The writer of the Letters consequently observes, "If the wildest of projects were carried into execution, the tithes swept away at once, the absentees forced to return under pain of some great act of spoliation, &c.—if the government were to expend hundreds of millions in public works, or other modes of employment, still the farming tenantry, *the bulk of the people, would not, under the present system of tenure, obtain any permanent advantage.* All would tend, as in former instances, to the ultimate benefit of the gentry, and *the people would remain as much distressed as at present.*"—"Can a country (he continues) be expected to be

prosperous, or even tranquil, in such a state? It is impossible. The body of the people must be allowed to improve." He consequently suggests, among other modes of improvement, the granting of leases for proper periods, and gradually enlarging the possessions, and nothing could be more sound. But as if it were *destined* that every one treating of the affairs of Ireland must undo in the end whatever he may have done to purpose in the outset, he concludes as follows:—"Absenteeism is undoubtedly an evil, but not of the importance ascribed to it, and having very little, if any, share in the present depressed state of Ireland. In contemplating that state, as it affects the condition of the suffering population, I have found that it matters little, whether the landed proprietor was an absentee or a resident. A kind absentee is much more favourable to the tenantry than a rigid resident." No doubt he is. Writers constantly talk of *absenteeism* instead of its *effects*. When *the effect* is wanting, the fact is obviously of no consequence. It is not of absent land-owners that Ireland complains, but of *absent incomes*; and when in future we would speak of the kind of absentee of whom a country has reason to complain, we must designate him, not as an absentee, but as an ABTRACTOR, for in that character alone is he injurious.

These few and very obvious remarks shew, that if the affairs of Ireland have continued an apparent mystery and anomaly, it is from misconception merely, and that a very few pages may exhibit with ease and clearness, both the cause of her misfortunes and the cure.

THE TRUE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT MISERIES OF IRELAND.

THE present misfortunes of Ireland are clearly to be traced, first, to the imperfect state of information among the people; next, to the mode of allocating the land; and, thirdly and lastly, to withdrawing the produce of the land from the country, unreplaced as it is to any sufficient extent by the profits of any other species of industry; in other words, to the smallness of possessions in land, *excessive over-renting, to the absence of land-owners, and the want of manufacturers, and to the ignorance and turbulence which leads to and perpetuates all these, the effects of the system of Romanism.* THESE, it will be found, are the true causes of all the want, all the waste of time, all the misery, and all the disorders that at present afflict that country.

Some persons are of opinion that *over-peopling* is at least another cause; holding that over-peopling and want of employment are convertible terms, and that the want of employment, which undeniably exists in Ireland, is decisive evidence of its being over-peopled. But in the present situation of Ireland, these circumstances have no necessary connexion. It is true that country, or part of a country, in which the inhabitants cannot find employment, is decidedly over-peopled—in *proportion to its work*; and in this view of the subject Ireland would seem over-peopled in every part, for in every part there is a want of employment. But for a country to be *really over-peopled, all its resources must be exhausted without enabling it to support its people*; and in *this* view, Ireland is *not over-peopled*; and the conclusive evidence is, first, that by universal consent, *MILLIONS OF ACRES OF THE FINEST LAND are yet uncultivated* in Ireland; and next, that from the land in cultivation, *it exports provi*

sions to a very great extent ; in which circumstances it is clear no country can be over-peopled ; on the contrary, to all that extent its people are short of the *natural* amount—(the proper and profitable is another matter)—unless to that extent they are stinted in the natural nourishment. Ireland is, therefore, not *actually* over-peopled, it is only over-peopled *relatively to the existing arrangements for employment*.

But from the improper conduct of land-owners in Ireland, in letting their land upon the principle that gives “the greatest possible immediate return of rent,”—or rather, perhaps, upon a misunderstanding of this principle ; from the ignorant and ferocious scramble of the people for land upon this principle, or, finally, from their indolence or mismanagement, more of them are laid upon the land than it requires, or can comfortably maintain, consistently with paying rent and other dues of occupancy ; consequently there is a necessity for restricting the rural population.

Next, the people of the labouring class, both agricultural and commercial, are evidently to a great degree ignorant—ignorant of what is for their own interest, their comfort, and their dignity as rational beings, or they would refuse to continue the line of misery of which they find themselves the heirs. It is true that both in Scotland and England the labourers are often straitened, but not as a principle ; it is only from *casual* circumstances ; and their struggles to better their condition, even when comfortable, are very properly unceasing. The reverse of these appears to prevail in Ireland ; and till the *policy* of the Church of ROME, in *withholding rational information*, shall be reformed or overturned in that kingdom, the ignorance and poverty, and consequently the improvidence of the great bulk of these classes, must continue.

In the third place, the land-owners of Ireland,

the natural heads and guardians of the peasantry, and who, by giving them example and bread, would both give them the comfort they require and the feeling of enjoying it, are either **ABSENT** or indifferent to the comfort of their tenants, or even to the due cultivation of their own estates, and they are unreplaced by any other source of assistance or example. Hence, in the first instance, and hence alone, the unhappiness of Ireland. If the landlords are indifferent, or their system bad, the tenants can scarcely be prosperous, particularly, if at the same time personally ignorant; *if the peasantry is poor, the manufacturers cannot be rich*, for they form the great bulk of their customers; if both agricultural and commercial labourers are wretched, then the bulk of the people is wretched; *the country is unhappy*; if the country is unhappy, it is likely to be ignorant and reckless; if ignorant and reckless, it is turbulent, it is criminal;—*from the mismanagement of the land, therefore, as from a fountain*, all the miseries of Ireland proceed;—a reason, and a strong one, for regulating that matter by the public hand.

That the land in Ireland is improperly managed at this moment, is undeniable. The poverty and the crime of the country may, in great part, be traced directly to excessive competition for the smallest patches of land at any price, and to the consequences of obtaining, and perhaps improperly managing, them. Nor is Ireland singular in this;—England, under **ELIZABETH**, was afflicted in the same manner, and Scotland was miserable under it, less than a century ago. Ireland is in the same state of transition now. It is passing from the agricultural to the commercial system; from depending almost exclusively on the soil, and consequently on the proprietors of the soil, for the means of existence, to that balanced system of dependence on external as well as internal means, that renders the land-owner *dependent on the country*, as the country upon him.

If Ireland has made a step farther, and a *great step*, still it is an imperfect one ; for, as has been already mentioned, it exports more *original produce than work* ; more corn and cattle than articles produced upon the consumption of corn. The consequence of this is obvious. Corn and cattle being as yet *the staple manufactures*—(for such they are)—and followed upon improper principles, the competition for land is excessive. It is in consequence let often for more than it yields—always for more than it can yield consistently with maintaining the people in comfort. The great proportion of profit from land therefore goes, not to reward the cultivator, nor to augment the means of cultivation, but for *Rent* ; and that Rent being for the most part *exported, not to bring in an equivalent but to pay debt*,—the debt due to the land-owner,—the country instead of growing richer and richer from its exertions, as it ought to do, is every year becoming poorer and poorer, *from its excessive yielding of produce to non-resident proprietors*. This is the first great cause of the poverty of Ireland, as we shall speedily show ; it is like being afflicted with a perpetual foreign debt—like being owned by foreigners ; and whatever may be said to the contrary, *until this can be abated, or counteracted*, by SOME MEANS OR OTHER, *the hands of the country may be worn to the bone, but it will not be richer* ; on the contrary, *the greater its exertions and privations, the greater only will be its exhaustion and its poverty*. We say this strongly and unqualifiedly, because it is indispensable that it should be seen. We will show its truth, because it is indispensable it should be assented to ; and we will show *the only cure*, because it is indispensable to even a hope of amelioration, that the cure should be known. Those economists, or would-be-economists, who say that absenteeism in its land-owners, is not injurious to Ireland *in its present state*, err egregiously ; they forge half their premises ; they are arguing from

a different state of society ; from that state of society—

“ Where commerce gives what Rent and Tax withdraw,”

instead of that in which Rent and Tax withdraw almost every thing, and commerce gives nothing.

Nor is it the slightest answer to say, that the tenants of resident proprietors are often worse off than those of non-resident ; if these resident proprietors are greater scourges than the absent, or so involved as to have little or nothing to spend in their neighbourhood. Look at the unembarrassed, and *ordinarily liberal* land-owner and resident gentleman, at least, for an ordinary example ; and, for a *complete example*, at the unembarrassed and liberal one.

The ADVANTAGES OF RESIDENCE, or of expending the wealth of a district within itself, need hardly be illustrated ; but we consider it so essential, *as a point of general policy*, and particularly as it applies to Ireland in its present situation, that we shall take the liberty of dilating a little. The wants of a very small number of people set down in any particular spot, and with very limited means, *soon create a colony* ; each new-comer bringing with him dependencies of his own, and they again creating new dependencies ; that is to say, new wants, requiring to be supplied. This is not perceived in a spot already peopled, but it is necessarily and infallibly true. In this way, an industrious family, even planted in the wilderness, soon becomes a town and the centre of a state ; for, as *they* have corn and cattle, and require implements and furniture and clothes, it becomes the interest of persons able to furnish these, to repair to that spot to give them ;— what will never happen on an over-rented Irish farm. On the other hand, a few of the wealthy inhabitants of a country removed, with their wealth and wants, dry up the sources of employment to *many* of the country left, and add proportionally

to the wealth and employment of the country to which they remove. Removing a landlord from a district, *if he carries his rents wholly with him, is obviously to strip it of all its surplus wealth.* It is like sweeping it of its crops annually. It is to the neighbourhood what *outgoing or scourging crops* are to a farm; under which system it is obvious no farm could thrive, unless manure in proportion is brought from other quarters. If he removes to any city of the same district or kingdom, though the neighbourhood of his estate is injured, the country generally is not, a portion of its wealth is only distributed among different parties; but *if he leaves the kingdom, then the kingdom is injured;* and unless he is replaced by a tenant to his house of equal wealth, or by some individual, or set of individuals, diffusing an equal capital, and giving a home market for the labour and produce of the district of equal extent, the wealth of the kingdom or district he has left, is evidently diminished; *it is exported and lost; and to maintain the balance of comfort, a like proportion of the people should be exported also;* for as the power of sustenance is diminished, so should the number to be sustained. This is a position so clear, that to argue it farther would only be to weaken it. It is demonstrable from every district, where, from any cause, circulation has been suddenly diminished, or where more is paid to a distance, from any undertaking, than the persons engaged in that undertaking can afford, consistently with their own comfortable maintenance. Ireland has not only lost many of its landowners and their revenues, but by far the greater part of them; *and they have not been replaced by any either bringing an equal capital with themselves, or drawing it from other quarters.* The consequence is obvious. The provisions that should support a numerous population, employed in supplying the wants of the landowners and their dependents, *are exported;* not (it must be repeated) in exchange for other

comforts, but to pay debt; to be consumed in the country where the landlord resides, *and whose inhabitants do the work of the country deserted*. The country enjoying this wealth and employment is enriched, by wealth and employment added without any addition to people; and the deserted country is impoverished, by the reduction of its wealth and employment, while its people remain nearly the same.

This is the history of the present misery of Ireland. About eighty or an hundred years ago, it was true of Scotland. The influx of its landowners to England had been excessive; their incomes necessarily followed; and the misery of the people of Scotland was conspicuous, till they found means to draw the exported wealth back, by manufactures. *Naturally, the people should have followed their bread—FOR THEIRS IT WAS.* Upon the same principle, the people of Ireland should now follow theirs, *unless they can contrive to draw it back for labour at home*; and if emigration of landowners and capitalists to THE CONTINENT shall continue long, the next shift of the people must be *thither*, or the balance of wealth and people will unquestionably be lost. In Ireland, it is the present reproach of the people, that they do not see this as they ought. They sink quietly down from comfort to privation, from privation to misery, and from misery to disease and death! This should not be; it should not be permitted. The people of Scotland never so succumbed. In spite of the ferocious fools, who would have gorged their bread and thought it *their own*, they followed it, so long as that was necessary; and some proportion at least was preserved, between the people and the means of subsistence. This was their safety. The people of Scotland have long been proportioned to the resources of the country; and their *ambition*, as it is termed, in reality their desire of decent independence, their habits of forethought and of industry,

originating in sound instruction, and supported by feeling and example, will doubtless preserve them so. The soil, in particular, is managed to the best advantage, under regulations of the most approved description, *in universal observance*. It is nowhere overburdened by an excessive population; *improvement is encouraged by being paid for*; industry, by giving a suitable interest in its returns. The humblest cultivator has his LEASE for a certain number of years, entered into upon terms promising a fair return for industry, according to his best calculations; or, if entered into in doubtful circumstances, a power of demitting at certain periods is reserved.

In this way, the interests of the tenant are not only attended to, but they are guarded by all possible means. The landlord is also protected, by stipulations for due management, and against over-cropping; by provisions for proper stocking, and against its clandestine removal. There is *no subletting* as a system, nor without the consent of the landlord, in any case. There is consequently no idle speculation in surplus rents,—no trafficking in the miseries of thoughtless, or ignorant, or houseless men. The whole rent goes to the landowner, consequently he can afford to be liberal; the whole power is in the landowner, except so far as restrained by the lease. He can benefit his tenant, but not injure him, and their interests are felt to be inseparable. *The first step towards the prosperity of Ireland is to imitate these arrangements*; for the real prosperity of every country must be based upon the due management of its soil; the happiness of its people on their due and fearless participation in the fruits of industry. If the incumbents on *rent* are multiplied, the anxiety to increase it must be augmented; where the tenure of the cultivator is *uncertain*, his exertions must be palsied; and where he is *unrewarded*, he must hate the law. In particular, where persons are *interjected between the owner of the soil and the culti-*

vator, their interests are completely separated. It is in consequence said of Irish landowners, that they often *shut their gates upon the occupants of their land*. This may be an instance of hard-heartedness, but it more probably is only an evidence of the evils of the system of subletting; for very often the tenants of the soil are not the tenants of the owners of the soil, but paying greatly advanced rents to other men. In such circumstances, there can be no interest on the part of the landowner in the well-being of the cultivators, for he has no dependence upon them, and no control over them; nor can the cultivators feel any attachment to the landowner, for he can in nothing serve them. Mutual interest, but if necessary mutual independence, is necessary to the comfort of this and all relations; and it should be introduced as speedily as possible in this, by proper leases, of proper holdings, and on fair terms.

SOME OF THE REMEDIES THAT SEEM TO SUGGEST THEMSELVES AS TO THE PRE- SENT SITUATION OF IRELAND.

WE will speak hereafter of the *mode* of reducing the rural population of Ireland without violence, and of improving the circumstances of those that remain, by increasing their independence:—but both must be preceded, by finding employment for the ejected; and the only character capable of providing this, is the CAPITALIST and MANUFACTURER. These men do not indeed preserve the wealth of the country from going out, in the rents due to the landowner, but they bring it in again, in return for work, and may bring in much more than *goes out*. They shift the site of industry, or open

up new sources ; and may not only replace the absent landowner, but greatly and permanently exceed him ; and by enriching and beautifying the country, bring the landowner in their train. The process is well known. The site of a camp, a baronial residence, or a church, formed the origin of most of our ancient towns and cities. The people drawn together in the outset, by the protection or employment furnished by one or other of these, at last furnished employment and protection for one another. The site of a manufacture, like the camp or church of old, or the baronial residence now, becomes the *nucleus* of a village. Money is constantly flowing from it to the labourer ; and, through him, to the farmer, grazier, brewer, baker, butcher, clothier, shoemaker, and all other dependants on population. If in the country, it enriches a district, if in the town, a neighbourhood. Every egg and fowl in the country, or house and shop in the town, acquires a new value. If the expenditure of this manufacture, or of newly inducted manufactures united, equals that of the landowners who have retired, the landowners are not missed ; if it exceeds their expenditure, they are more than compensated for ; and the employment of manufacturers may be steadier than that of landowners, for they cannot so easily change their place. Ireland has lost its landowners, and not yet gained its manufacturers. Too much goes raw from Ireland, and comes wrought to it ; consequently, it is every hour impoverishing, by a double process, or but slowly enriching. But does it court the presence of manufacturers ? Does it not *strangely deter them* ? Even landowners seem, in some instances, blind to their own interests in this respect, as well as to the interests of their starving neighbourhood. The thing seems incredible ; and it should obviously be corrected.

When Scotland was undergoing the process of transition, its landholders behaved well. They saw

their own interest, perhaps they felt for that of the country; and by several useful associations, contributed to serve it and themselves. They associated to encourage agriculture, manufactories, and fishing, the three great original sources of enrichment; they even associated to encourage sculpture and painting, and these associations were not permitted, like the gourds of the prophet, to perish as they arose; they were rendered active and useful. As if these had not seemed sufficient to meet all necessary objects, they contrived to enlist every class in the kingdom in an association to meet *every object*, that is, THE HIGHLAND and LOWLAND SOCIETY, which aids and embraces every thing that can be useful to the country, from its ancient language and music, to the coping of a dyke, or drawing a sheep drain. It is an *imperium in imperio*, but for the most commendable purposes; supplying, by an association of citizens, the absence of the government, by holding out and distributing rewards for every species of industry requiring the munificence or protection of a public hand. Ireland has its associations of the same description, and long may they continue! But we ask, in the most friendly spirit, are they followed up? If they had been so, many things would certainly have been known and reduced to practice, that at present are neither; and the country unequalled in the world for its capabilities, would have been rising into a natural and healthy independence and happiness, requiring neither aid nor commiseration, but proudly ready to yield both.

But though there are many things to be conquered in Ireland, and many to be accomplished, (and after the details of crime and misery incessantly issuing from it, who will deny this?) there is no room for despair, nor even doubt. The principles of change to be adopted are few and obvious. They are—

First. To reduce the agricultural population, or to extend the sphere of their exertions.

Second. To turn the surplus of the agricultural population, if any, into labourers in other professions.

And thirdly, and simultaneously, to enlighten this population, in the knowledge of its duties to itself and to society, *by whatever means may be necessary, for effecting this most indispensable object.*

These are the entire objects necessary to be accomplished ; and to them there are no obstacles. The Legislature and the Government have only to will them ; and it is the duty of the Government to the empire at large, at once and decidedly to set themselves to the task ; for at present the situation of Ireland, in some respects, is not only pitiable, but, as a valuable appanage of the Empire, misused, it is a national reproach.

The regulation and distribution of the agricultural population, is supposed to be restrained by many obstacles. First, Many landowners, or at least holders in chief, are fettered by perpetual leases ; are, in fact, only nominal proprietors, with sometimes very trifling interests. The answer to this is obvious. These are not landowners ; they are only mere superiors, with considerable rents reserved. Every tenant in perpetuity, or even under any absolute tenure, though but for a time, is clearly, to the extent of his interest, the actual proprietor, and should be so considered in legislating upon this subject. This would lay estates so held as completely open to regulation, as if there were but one proprietor. The necessary regulations should be laid down, and obedience rendered imperative on the part of each in his department.—*Nam salus populi suprema lex.*

Next. All sensible proprietors in Ireland now clearly see, that their lands should be allotted solely with reference to the best and most convenient cultivation ; and that it is their interest to have the

entire regulation of their estates in their own hands, and the whole of the rents received from them; that is, to admit of no intermediate tenants drawing advanced rents from the cultivators, or from tenants subletting again, and farther burdening the cultivators; in short, to have NO MIDDLEMEN. This is so clearly proper, and for the interest of the landowner, as well as for the prosperity and peace of the empire, that where landowners cannot see their interest, they should be compelled to yield to the general interest; or if there are contracts existing which it would be unjust to rescind, they should be at least rendered subject to the regulations considered generally proper; and, in all cases, the cultivators should have the power of accounting with the actual landowner, unless wholly released by him.

We reason thus. The soil on which the state stands, is unalienably THE STATE'S. The use may be given to various parties, and under various tenures, but the abuse to none. It is this that makes the state paramount in all cases, and heir in the last resort. No proprietor for use, (and all proprietors are so, and no more,) could cast the soil of his estate into the sea, or fortify it against the state, or shut it up and make the public go round, or even make it the site of a common nuisance. No property in the soil can be said to be absolutely one's own; it is enjoyed *salvo jure rei-publicæ*; that is, under implied conditions.

No doubt these implications must be liberally interpreted; but they exist, and should be resorted to upon all proper occasions. An universally bad system of tenure, or of cultivation, is clearly a circumstance which the state may correct. Next, an ordinary nuisance is provided against; and what nuisance more distinct or pernicious than a nest of beggars, or worse? Now, many estates in Ireland are so let, as that their occupants can only be beggars; and they accordingly set out in shoals TO BEG—FOR THE LANDLORD! The state is obviously not only

entitled, but bound to protect its subjects in general, against annoyance from any interest, or supposed interest, or folly of individuals; and it is surprising that, both in the country and in cities, all improper accumulation of people, in circumstances unfit for human residence, has not been prohibited, and the prohibition intrusted to proper officers. The laws of ELIZABETH went farther as to rural districts. They not only prohibited inhabiting houses improper to be inhabited, but they prohibited the existence of houses of whatever description, for the improper accumulation of a surplus population in parishes; and the soundness of the measure is indisputable. Ireland has for centuries complained of mismanagement on the part of the general government; but the regulations, till within a few years back existing as to the subletting of land in Ireland, were so utterly barbarous, so horrible, that they would seem to have been devised for the very purpose of creating oppression and misery, and were, in their working, sufficient to have fomented an eternal rebellion; for by allowing an indefinite number of lessors, to any one of whom the cultivator might have been taken bound, and yet leaving recourse to the landlord against him, in consequence of which he was often distrained for double payment, they were calculated not only to grind down the cultivator to the lowest point, but, in addition, to rob him, and leave him without the chance of redress. Yet who invented these regulations? Who enforced them, or participated in their fruits? Certainly not the government. It was guilty, indeed, of tolerating them, and that is sufficient reproach; but this is all that can fairly be urged against it. It has in part altered them, and doubtless they should be entirely swept away; but has IRELAND called for it? Its landowners? Its patriots, or even its people? Neither! The people have endured without remonstrance. The landowners have enforced them without regret; and their PATRIOTS

have profited by them, and are profiting by them now; For it is characteristic of the patriots, at least the talking patriots of this country, that they never address themselves to a single actual evil, nor have ever suggested a single practical good. It is clear that the system of subletting should be abolished for ever; and that, as already said, land should be applotted and laid out, as far as possible, with a view to its cultivation in the cheapest and most effectual manner, and in the view that the tenant shall have the means of living comfortably, under the exercise of a proper industry.

Third. Many of the landowners of Ireland are voluntarily giving hill farms to tenants ejected from their lower lands. This doubtless should be encouraged, but it should also be regulated; for it is seen that otherwise it will be abused; and tenants after reclaiming land, to the landowner and his heirs for ever, will, in many cases, be turned off, to make way for tenants willing to pay rent for their predecessors' improvements! This savage, this contemptible injustice, should be rendered impossible. It is precisely the source of one branch of the miseries of Ireland. But may they not, it may be asked, do what they will with their own? Certainly they may not—if by their management they are to perpetrate injustice, or commit a public wrong. A man ignorant of his rights ought always to be protected; and no class of men should be placed in circumstances that leave them no choice but to submit to injustice. It is no injurious interference with property, to protect against the rapacious money-lender. It is no injurious interference with the rights of the distributors of the necessary of bread, to fix its price; it would be no improper interference with property in land, to say that in every case it shall be let on lease; that in no case whatever the lease shall be under nineteen, twenty-one, or twenty-seven years, according to the rotations necessary for good hus-

bandry in the district ; and that no improving lease shall be for less than twenty-seven or thirty-nine years. The SOIL is like the bread it gives—a necessary of THE STATE ; and its management cannot be absolutely demitted to any one.

If, after these hill-holdings, a surplus of agricultural population should still remain, Ireland possesses unexpected facilities for its own relief, in many immediate objects of the utmost importance, and they will be adverted to in the sequel. In the meantime, and to meet immediate necessities, we would say as follows.—We are no friends to poor-laws. We think there should be none, because there should be NO POOR ; and it is improper to contemplate a regular order of this description, beyond the casually diseased or decrepit. No public assessment, therefore, should ever contemplate any other. If this should not lead to an assessment beyond one farthing in the pound on rents, no more should be raised ; and any thing necessary beyond a very low rate of assessment, say of one shilling in the pound, should unquestionably be left to the control of private feeling. They act unwisely for all parties, who encourage leaving the line of industry ; for, once left, it can hardly be regained. On every vacancy, a new candidate for employment steps forward, whom it becomes unjust to displace. A double line of population is thus engendered—those in the line of industry, and those who cannot obtain a place. The first tendency to disorder in a thickly peopled state, is undue charity, leading first to casual mendicancy, and speedily rendering it habitual and unavoidable. An irregular workman is preparing the way for his becoming unavoidably a beggar ; and a giver of charity, except to the diseased or incapable, is in effect a disturber of society ; for he is undermining its natural order, by providing a refuge for casual idleness, which circumstances will speedily render enforced, and a source of per-

manent dependence and misery. This has been painfully demonstrated in England. Even assisting the wages of labour from the poor-rates, was found to throw all upon the poor-rates; for who would pay full wages, when seeing his neighbour assisted by the public? But the aged and infirm should be provided for, however moderately. This creates no redundancy of labour (to the injury of the general body), for the labours of such have ceased.

A poor-law to this extent, therefore, may be considered as one of the remedies presenting themselves in the present situation of Ireland. But 'it is the worst, and therefore should be the last.' It should be handled with the utmost delicacy; or, as already stated, by encouraging a double line of population, it will render a temporary disorder perpetual. Its objects should be limited, and its extent trivial. Above all, it should be distinctly understood to be a legislative concession to misfortune, and not a right; and though a fund may be compulsorily created, it should be voluntarily distributed. It may be said, indeed, and by thoughtless persons it is said, that if landowners will beggar their tenants, they should support their heggars. But this is not the remedy. They should not be suffered to beggar their tenants: For the resort to a general poor-law punishes only the conscientious landowner, by making him pay with those who are not so, after having voluntarily assessed himself by restricting his rents. A poor-law, to be at once penal and just, should extend only over the 'poor-lands;'—that is to say, the lands that are mismanaged; and a road and bridge assessment, or an assessment for draining and trenching, would be infinitely more safe and profitable; for it would do both present and permanent good, and inflict no possible evil.

 EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES OF IRELAND.

WE have said that Ireland possesses unexpected facilities for relieving itself, after exhausting such as are common ; but that expression is inadequate ; the extraordinary resources of Ireland are perhaps not equalled in any peopled country. But there is a want of resources in the people ; or, to speak more correctly, a strong apathy to their own interests ; often a savage resistance, evidently the effect of ignorance ; and a cold and unpatriotic, or selfish and rapacious tendency among the higher classes, or these suggestions would not have been necessary at this time. Ample evidence of both these will obtrude themselves ; but it seems necessary to adduce the following before going farther.

Among the people, nothing is so common as to hear of the destruction of manufactories, erected at great expense, and sure to have diffused much money in the districts where placed, because it was necessary to employ workmen from a distance, in the first instance. We have heard of a paper-mill (as one example), that had cost twelve or fifteen thousand pounds, being burnt down as soon as built, because stranger workmen were, for a time, to be employed. More extraordinary still, a person employing nine hundred workmen, and whose utility, therefore, must have been felt for years, was, on a very late occasion, assailed in open day, and almost deprived of life, certainly brought in hazard of losing it. Why ?—Because he had reduced, unnecessarily or improperly, the wages of his people ?—No. Or dismissed them without just cause ?—No. Or in any respect tampered with their happiness or the happiness of their families ? He had done none of these things. He had merely exercised an undoubted right—a right which he had not denied to his humblest ser-

pendent,—the right of voting for a man to represent him in Parliament, whom, in the exercise, doubtless, of a sound judgment, he considered likely to represent him properly. These are instances of perversity, in circumstances so palpable, that farther evidence of ignorance, recklessness, or even beastly lawlessness and ingratitude, seems unnecessary. No doubt, the latter offence was committed at the instigation of persons disgracing the name of priests. But at whatever instigation done, it was every way disgraceful; perhaps the more disgraceful, that any one bearing the *name* of a minister of religion could venture to advise such conduct, and hope to be respected.

Then, as to the land-owners. It is repeated in every publication regarding Ireland, “that millions of acres are reclaimable, by the agency of those very materials in which Ireland the most abounds, manual labour and lime.” We had also come to the conclusion, that “since such is the condition of the labouring classes, and such the means of improving that condition, it is the duty of *government* to encourage the cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of husbandry.” We confess, farther, that we had urged, and may still urge, that this should be done “by such extensive public works, as will facilitate the end, and in the meantime give employment to the people; and that, in the event of the land-owners of Ireland neglecting or delaying to take advantage of these facilities, by reason of want of enterprize, or of capital, it will then become the duty of the state, to take upon itself the right of operating upon the reclaimable wastes of Ireland,—or to colonize those wastes for the benefit of the people.” But we hesitate as to the concluding clause — “fair compensation being given;” or the compensation, to be considered fair, must be exceedingly limited.

For the following reasons. First, In every *recent grant* of land by the state, the very neces-

sary condition is adhibited, that if not duly cultivated, in due time, the grant reverts to the state. Can it be, that a condition so proper, and which is regularly enforced in regard to the wastes of America, should be deemed improper to be exercised as to land lying in the very heart of the empire? As we have already said, proprietors of land are only proprietors for use; and if the wastes of Ireland are at this moment useless, or even inadequately employed, we see not why they should not be considered subject to reclamation by the state, without any condition; certainly without heavy considerations.

For, Second, The landowners of Ireland have great injustice done them, or as a body, they are any thing but entitled to the peculiar consideration of the State. They do not appear to consider themselves intrusted with the management of the soil of the State, at once for the public interest and their own, but solely for their own: instead of endeavouring to turn any public munificence to the best account, it appears that, in nine cases out of ten, they would do every thing in their power to divert it into their own pockets, without much regard to either patriotism or decency, or even common honesty. So fixed is this impression, that the writer of the letters already referred to, says, "Even the money raised *by subscription* last year (*i. e.* 1830) in Great Britain, for the relief of the starving population of certain districts of Connaught, when laid out in employment for the poor, by which they were to earn subsistence, tended, in point of fact, to the permanent improvement of the neighbouring estates; so that every thing may be said to be turned to the account of the landed proprietors—even a famine,"—he might perhaps have added, "of their own causing;"—and it is obvious, that all improvements effected upon land, must turn to the *permanent benefit* of the proprietors. Therefore, in any

scheme that may be adopted, of whatever nature, for the improvement of the state of things in Ireland, **THE PUBLIC INTEREST** must be strictly considered. Any lands improved must be improved, if with the aid of government, yet at the expense of the proprietors; and improvement where proper should not be optional, it should be rendered imperative. Farther, it should be guarded against by an express law, that any lands improved, whether by public aid or private enterprise, should not be turned into farther receptacles of an improvident, and consequently inevitably miserable people; or, instead of spreading happiness, we should only be furnishing a hotbed for the production of misery. These things may seem severe; but let any one look at the state of Ireland as compared with the other sections of the United Kingdom, and say if they are unjust?—if they are unnecessary?—if they are not distinctly called for, unless it is to remain for ever as an inexplicable blot?

In the south of Ireland, where there is much present misery, we are not aware that any improvements of an extraordinary nature could be suggested, beyond the general one of extending manufactures, and consequently changing the distribution of the people; and, as a preliminary to that, the country must be quiet. Looking at the map, indeed, (but more with the eye of an Optimist than the information of an Engineer,) it would seem, that if a communication could be opened from Cashel to Limerick, either by railroad or by water, it would be very desirable; and that, therefore, may be considered as our first suggestion.

Second. It is universally admitted, that the extension of the water communication from **CLARE** to **ENNIS**, would be in the last degree desirable. “A very trifling expense, (says Mr Inglis,) would *effect this object*, and there is no doubt that, in

this event, the prosperity of the town would rapidly increase. The proposal of a canal, however, has met with every opposition, from narrow mindedness and jobbing."

We have little doubt that these feelings may long continue. A proper survey therefore should be made, (if it has not already been made), and properly considered; and if the work is found valuable, it would seem to follow that it should be executed.

Third. There is a river called the Suck, on the west side of the Shannon, which offers a wide field of improvement at little cost. "The river Suck, (says Mr Rhodes,) forms the division of the counties of Roscommon and Galway. It is a remarkably fine river, and with respect to magnitude, appears, by the discharge of water at its junction with the Shannon, to be little inferior to the Shannon itself. In a circuitous course of about sixty miles, it passes near the towns of Roscommon, Athleague, Mount Talbot, Ballyforan, Ballygall, through Ballinasloe, and enters the Shannon immediately below Shannon bridge." The estimate of the whole expense of drainage, improving thousands of acres of land, and rendering the river navigable to Ballyforan, a distance of twenty-five miles, is but L.35,485 : 18 : 5. "It may, at a very moderate expense, be rendered navigable for thirty-five miles, into the heart of a country possessing all the features of an unexplored region, the very centre of pauperism, the *nidus* of emigration, and which encloses an area of two thousand square miles, possessing all the capabilities of forming a happy and prosperous peasantry." To show what these capabilities are—"The bed and banks of the river, (continues Mr Rhodes), consist chiefly of marle of the finest quality; also an inexhaustible supply of limestone, gravel, and sand—great essentials for draining and improving the bogs; and by means of water

carriage, it offers an easy and cheap conveyance."

"But this district, (says another) is at present the seat of abject wretchedness, and all that can disgrace or disturb a kingdom—the mischievous influence of which is felt to the very banks of the Thames!"—"Can we here avoid asking why this strange anomaly exists? Why nature has thus been so circumscribed for centuries? So unaided in her operations, and almost counteracted in her great designs? Less is known at this moment by Statesmen, or Englishmen, of the capabilities of this river, and the great population on its shores, than of the distant settlements of Australia, or the Swan River; yet this century will pass away, before there is a population on the latter equal to what is now within reach of the influence of this Irish river." We think there can be but one opinion upon this subject, and it is, that this reproach should cease. The present great want [about this river, as about the Shannon, is that of roads and piers; and certainly the giving these roads and piers seems infinitely more prudent and imperative than giving the means of similar, or any thing like similar improvements in more distant settlements. If noblemen and gentlemen are too prudent and unpatriotic to do any thing beyond letting out their swamps, as nests for beggars and disturbers of the public peace, they cannot hesitate to give them up to the State, at a price commensurate to their present fair income? and if that is refused, then their improvement should be imperative. Many landholders in the Highlands of Scotland have, for many years, been assessed to the extent of one-third of the clear rents of their estates, for the formation of roads and bridges alone. This may seem hardly credible, but it is the fact; and, in return, they enjoy the remainder of their incomes in peace and dignity;—they cost the country nothing for collecting their rents, or for maintaining, trying, or transporting their poor. They even see,

that upon every fresh let of their lands, the temporary heavy rate of their improvements is much more than compensated, by a rent-roll augmented for ever.

Fourth. The town of Enniskillen, to the prosperity and beauty of which we have already alluded, stands at the head of a lake and river, both navigable to the sea (from which it is distant about sixty or seventy miles), with the exception of four miles; "and it is almost impossible" (says Mr Inglis) "to calculate the benefit which would be conferred upon the great extent of country bordering on the two Loch-Ernes, by this very obvious and unexpensive improvement." Now, we must observe here, that a navigation of seventy miles is interrupted for four, from the indolence or unpatriotic parsimony of its proprietors. Is it fair, after this, to say that Ireland is the worst governed—the most unjustly treated country in the world? Why should not its meat be roasted at the public expense? The great fault of its patriots (commonly so called at least) has constantly been, that their mouths have always been open and their eyes shut. Has any one of them suggested even such an improvement as this, at the expense of the proper parties?

Fifth. "Much might be done for Colrain," (says Mr Inglis.) "A grant to improve the harbour of Portrush would greatly facilitate the completion of that work, and would confer important benefits upon those districts. Connected with this work, a railway from the town of Portrush, a distance of only a few miles, would be an essential service. But, perhaps, the most important of all the improvements which could be devised," (as to this neighbourhood) "would be, the opening of the navigation of the River Bann to Loch-Neagh. I believe only twelve miles of this river (the twelve miles nearest to Loch-neagh) are not al-

ready navigable ; and were this work effected, a direct inland navigation would be opened between the whole of the interior districts of Londonderry and Antrim, and Belfast, there being already a navigable communication between Belfast and Loch-Neagh." He might have added, that the same exists to Newry, which would consequently open up to that point also ; and thus an immense internal range of country would be rendered a thoroughfare, by opening up or improving a navigation of only twelve miles. At the same time, it is believed, fifty thousand acres of land, on the banks of Loch-Neagh, would be rescued from the water, or secured from occasional floodings ;—a circumstance that, in any other country, would seem to justify almost any expense that could be necessary. If nothing better can be done, these lands should be secured to Government ; and thereupon this improvement should be effected.

By merely taking up the map of a traveller, therefore, and skirting round the country in his route, improvements of a magnitude scarcely credible, when considered in their effects, and to be accomplished with an ease almost equally incredible, suggest themselves in every quarter. According to these statements, (and they are the statements of accredited ENGINEERS reporting to Government), one-sixth of the money that has been expended on a railroad, to trundle the citizens of Dublin to Kingstown, or to improve a port that has no trade, would have laid open to industry and civilization an area of 2000 square miles ; the seat of a population exceeding what some of our most expensive colonies will reach during this century, but at present sunk " in the most abject wretchedness, and all that can disgrace or disturb a kingdom ; and the mischievous effects of which is felt on the very banks of the Thames." Why is this ? No patriot, at least no true patriot, has pleaded for *such* an improvement, nor even mentioned it ; and

yet, being the very fountain of disgrace and misery, it would seem to have been deserving of some consideration? We will be plain :—We think it deserved more consideration, than either the incapacities of Catholic Counsellors, or the deepening of Dublin harbour; that its having been so long unexpressed for and unexecuted; is a reproach to the influential men of Ireland; and that, with such objects of interest unexecuted, and even unconsidered, both of which it was the duty of the country to have done for itself, Ireland should be ashamed to lift up one word against any but itself.

The improvement of the SHANNON is an object of still deeper interest.



THE SHANNON.

THE extent of improvements that might be effected upon the SHANNON, is almost inconceivable. In improving the navigation of *this* river, we should almost be adding a new member to the empire; for the districts about and beyond the Shannon, are at present nearly *useless*, and they contain *many millions of acres of the richest soil*.

It is already navigable from its mouth to its source, a distance of 234 miles; and, counting both sides of the river, and the coasts of the lakes into which it occasionally spreads, it gives a coast of upwards of six hundred miles. With a few improvements, this navigation might be made suitable to vessels of the largest size; and repeated surveys have been made of the river, expressly in the view of improving it; but its importance cannot be known, or it would no longer be delayed.

The SHANNON runs in a direction from north-east to south-west, but bending towards the east.

like a great bow, and entirely severing the great province of Connaught from the rest of Ireland, with the exception of a neck of a very few miles at its head on the north; that is to say, from Loch-Allen to the sea. It “washes the shores of TEN COUNTIES out of thirty-two; viz. Leitrim, Roscommon, Longford, Westmeath, King’s-County, Galway, Tipperary, Clare, Limerick, and Kerry. All these abound in population, and are susceptible of great agricultural improvement.”—“Some of the counties are mountainous, with deep productive vallies on which may be cheaply fed *vast quantities of sheep and cattle*:”—an admirable outlet certainly, for both Scotch and English capital, did the state of Ireland admit it. “Others are flat and humid, yet susceptible of great amelioration, with the aid of capital and skill. Several with soils on a substratum of limestone, are in all seasons warm and dry, and peculiarly adapted to the production of the finest qualities of grain and other produce.”—“*Natural manures also*, those essentials in agricultural districts, *are not only excellent, but equal to any demand*, throughout a great portion of the river. The black and white marles of the Shannon, which are easily raised, and accessible and free to all, are among the most bountiful gifts of Nature to this extraordinary country. *Turf* that prime necessary of life in Ireland, is abundant in the greater number of districts on the Shannon. Building materials, as stone, sand, lime, flags, bricks, slates and marble, are cheap and abundant in many, while frequently the adjoining counties are wholly without them.’”—“Of the *reclaimable bogs*, callows and marsh lands, it is unnecessary to say more, than that in no part of Ireland are they more extensive.” Along the river there are minerals; and on the borders of Loch-Allen, at its head, is the IRON MOUNTAIN, an almost inexhaustible mine of that metal. Such then are

the capabilities of the Shannon, and the resources of the districts through which it runs. And we would ask, in passing, ought it to be necessary, in these circumstances, for our cultivators to run to Canada or America? Is it not strange that they should think, or be compelled to think, of these distant wildernesses, with a country like that now described open to them, within sight of home?—Surely we think so.

“The next great feature of the Shannon is, the almost total want of those essentials and conveniences for trading, without which it is comparatively useless; viz. shelter-harbours, piers, quays and landing places, land-marks and beacons. The want even of these latter, during the winter half-year, would render many otherwise convenient little harbours, exposed to risks, delays and injury to the produce carried, sufficient to counteract all natural advantages, and ruin an otherwise profitable trading.” Mr Nimmo joins in this complaint. “It is remarkable (he observes) that upon the western coast of the broad parts of the Shannon, we have not *a single landing place*.”—“We have no quays or roads to the water, *at any part of the Shannon, except at the bridges*. I should suppose that *four or five thousand pounds* will accomplish all that is wanted in making roads and landing places.”—All these are the observations of practical men, of the highest character, and we doubt not entitled to the most implicit credit; and they surely lead but to one conclusion, that on one principle or another, these things should be done.

The following suggestion is our own.

We have long been of opinion, and in various ways urged it, that though much might be done in improving both the navigable properties of the Shannon, and the facilities for taking advantage of those properties, the river will never be to the country what it is capable of being, nor even give an *idea of its advantages*, until it shall be accessible at both

ends from the sea ; until it shall have been rendered A THOROUGHFARE. The river, for example, is 234 miles in direct length. This is in one view of infinite advantage. It is of advantage in giving access or egress to a very great extent, and to a numerous population. But to a trader importing *to the head of the river*, the voyage is long, and it is doubled in length by the return. The consequence is, that as soon as it becomes cheaper to send produce *by land, from the seaport nearest to the head of the river, no importation will take place at its mouth ;* nor will it be embarked at the head, upon reaching it, *unless the after-voyage shall be of very considerable length,* and thus the upper end of the river becomes *almost useless* for the purposes of trade by interchange of commodities. It becomes useful for export only ; and even its use for export is diminished by this, that the land-carrier introducing goods, naturally takes a return load if he can obtain it.

We conceive, therefore, that the very first object as to this river, in importance, is *to render it a thoroughfare ; to connect it with the ocean at the head.* The circumstance of the navigation being one-ended only, mars entirely the utility of the river. It renders land-carriage necessary on its very banks ; because, to a considerable extent, this must be cheaper, than first unloading and shipping to take the river, and then unloading and loading again at leaving it ; or if shipping is resorted to throughout, it increases the length of the voyage beyond conception.

For example.—To carry an article *by water* at present, from the North Sea to Loch-Allen, the length of the voyage is as follows :—From Sligo, which is within a few miles of Loch-Allen, (the point of destination,) *by land,* the *voyage* to the mouth of the Shannon is at least three hundred miles, along the western coast, which is stormy and

dangerous ; up the Shannon, is two hundred and fifty miles at the sharpest computation if the sail is used, perhaps with baffling winds and against the stream ; and having unloaded, the return voyage is of equal length ; that is to say, in whole, ELEVEN HUNDRED MILES. Had there been access to the head of the river from Sligo, *the whole voyage would have been under fifty miles*, or one twenty-secondth part—for Sligo is not half that distance from Loch-Allen ; and the expense and risk would have been diminished in proportion. At present, voyages up and down the Shannon alone are liable to exceed *three months*, “ without any other interruption than such as the navigation presents.” This, we think, is conclusive. The river should clearly be made accessible at both ends from the sea. The want of this is the single circumstance that explains, why the Shannon, with all its capabilities, is so little useful ; for who can think of the voyage which we have shown to be necessary at present, with the hope of profit in almost any case ?

Surveys have been made of a line of canal from Sligo to Carrick. This is a considerable way from the head of the Shannon, and consequently renders a great length of canal necessary ; but if that is the only line of junction practicable, we must be satisfied. A shorter line, however, is perhaps not impossible. It would seem as follows.—Loch-Gill, a beautiful lake about eight miles long, lies at the head of the navigable river which passes Sligo into the bay, on the one hand, and is only *a very few miles* distant from Loch-Allen, on the other. We are not aware that any survey has been made of the space between Loch-Allen and Loch-Gill with the view of effecting a junction ; but the hills in that quarter are “ inconsiderable,” and *all* hills have hollows between them. *Were this line practicable*, it is obvious the expense would be inconsiderable ;—and, in all events, a junction with the sea at this

end, *by some line*, is indispensable to the utility of the river.

And this would increase its usefulness almost beyond conception. Not only would the whole line of its banks be laid open *in every direction*, and a communication by water established from them to the West and North Seas, but also *from Sligo to Dublin, by Limerick, inland*; and were the other objects we have faintly indicated in the course of these observations completed, and the projected Ulster canal from Belfast to Loch-erne, also *continued from Loch-erne to the Shannon*, though all would not be done for Ireland that it is capable of receiving, yet more would be done in a right direction, than its best friends have hoped to see. Works like this, have not only a peculiar, but almost an incalculable value; for they not only employ people in the mean time, but they provide permanent, and almost indefinitely increasing employment. They would not only open up the whole interior of the country to the sea, but to a *calm internal sea*; adding incalculably to the value of every spot in its vicinity.

“ Imperial labours these, and worthy ROME ! ”

and they would be nobly repaid.†

In the prosecution of these objects, the public

† These sentiments were thus embodied in 1834. The project of connecting Loch-Allen with the sea by Loch-Gill, was communicated to the gentleman at the head of the public works in Ireland in February 1835, but the idea was then unheard of, and apparently not approved. It was communicated to another person, who has written on the inland navigation of Ireland, and, finally, to the Government, to which all the other projects were also communicated. It is believed that the junction of the Shannon with the sea by LOCH-GILL, and also with BELFAST by LOCH-ERNE and LOCH-NEAGH, have been resolved upon, and are now embodied in an Act of Parliament. The writer knows not what is his share in the merit.

should not alone be chargeable; on the contrary, the parties to be immediately benefited should unquestionably contribute. But the Government must take the lead. Farther, it appears certain, that nothing whatever must be trusted to the *liberality* of the parties, or even to just views of interest. The whole must proceed upon well penned public acts. We will state our reasons for this opinion.

There is, on the coast of Galway, a very dangerous pass for vessels between the mainland and some islands, in consequence of the protrusion of a ridge of rocks from the latter, almost blocking up the channel, except at high water. Scores of turf and fishing-boats, and even small trading vessels, are almost constantly detained there, more or less, often to their imminent danger, especially in unsettled weather. The expense of removing this obstruction, by gunpowder, has been estimated at L.500. Government (we know not under what ministry) at once offered to give L.250; other patriotic individuals, wholly unconnected with the spot, had subscribed L.150 more, so that *one hundred pounds* only remained to be provided for by the parties really to be benefited—namely, the landowners of the district and their tenants. Has it been obtained? *NOT ONE FARTHING could be obtained from that quarter*; and the obstruction must remain as it has been for ages, or be removed at the expense of Government, as it is believed it will be.

Nor must grand juries be trusted. In some of the reports lately presented on the subject of improvements, it is observed, “Grand juries may also with advantage *be allowed* a power of presenting, *if they shall think fit*, in aid of small piers and landing places, on the banks of navigable rivers.” But, says a writer on these subjects, who seems to know his ground *well*, “If there be a body in the kingdom *least adapted* for suggesting, promoting, or maintaining such incidents, it is that of *Grand Juries*. Their constitution, the class of persons who

compose the body, *the personal objects and interests which each person has to advocate, and which, as a matter of course, would take precedence, all render such a body wholly unfit for such duties. They never would think fit !*"

Proof.—"Between Killaloe in the county of Clare, and Drumsna in the county of Leitrim, a distance of 107 British miles by water, there are but seven bridges "across the Shannon," (or one in 15 miles, even were they equally distributed); "one of which is the timber one at Portumna, and over which the tolls charged" (we are sorry to add) "by Government, have been so high, as to amount to almost a prohibition of all intercourse; a foot passenger, for each time of going and returning, paying *threepence*," (half the amount of a day's wages among many of the labouring classes); "and a single horse with a car and load, going and returning, paying the enormous sum of *sixteenpence* ! Under such circumstances, how can the labour of such districts leave any return to the farmer ?" He might have added, How can any ordinary labour proceed ? "Yet even this bridge, *the only crossing into Connaught for a distance of thirty-seven miles*, though at this hour (1833) in the possession of Government, and it is now called on to protect the peace of these districts at a great expense, is *in a state of the greatest dilapidation*." Mr Rhodes had, in 1832, authoritatively described it as "almost impassable, and dangerous to *foot passengers, let alone horses, cattle, and wheel-carriages*." Mr Inglis, in 1834, found it in the same state; *as it is to this hour*, though plans and estimates have at length been advertised for. Meantime, the two counties between which this bridge is the *sole connection*, had levied under Grand Jury presentments no less than L.77,000, while this bridge, without exception the most important in either county, is allowed to fall into ruin from want of the outlay of *a single hundred pounds!*" *We know not who should be blamed in this, whe-*

ther the counties or the Government ; but, it will be observed, that the whole happened under the liberal Government.

Farther. " It would be the support of a broken reed, were counties left dependent on Grand Juries, and until *they* should think fit to present, *for works of even first-rate necessity*. The present dilapidated state of Portumna Bridge is a case in point. So also was the neglect in repairing the bridge over the Shannon at Kilaloe, for *years after several of its arches had been swept away ! During that time, the bridge remained impassable*. From the winter of 1821 to that of 1824, the counties adjoining were seriously inconvenienced, and, for a distance of *forty miles*, were depending for connection on the one timber bridge of Portumna."—" Meantime, the Grand Juries of the counties of Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, and Galway, *all deeply interested in its preservation*, levied no less than L.412,050, yet did not think fit to raise (qu. appropriate ?) L.2600 for this necessary work ! The bridge must have remained impassable *to this day*, had it not been for the circumstance of Dr Arbuthnot, then Bishop of Killaloe, *coming to reside at the see-house ; and being much inconvenienced by the want of the bridge, HE used his influence, and had it repaired !*"

No wonder that this writer concludes that the only really efficient mode of proceeding, is to make it *compulsory* on Grand Juries, on the requisition of some authorised competent and responsible body, to raise the necessary funds off counties or baronies, or to undertake the repayment of the same, if advanced by Government, for the execution of public works of utility or necessity ; nor can it be more wondered that Ireland is as it is, while such a conclusion is so obviously just. Meantime, are the gentlemen here shown to be so utterly dead to their own interests and characters, to public principle or to private shame—are *these* men, whose estates and incomes should be protected by the empire, at such

enormous expense? Is there a county meeting in Scotland or England, that would not feel disgraced if a road were left *for a week in a state capable of producing accidents, instead of being entirely interrupted for years*? If there were, there is a power in the law to *compel them* to bethink themselves. It will be obvious, from the amount of money raised within the districts, that it is not from tenderness to the tenants *who pay it*, nor even from want of funds, that works so necessary remain unexecuted. No. It is from *shameless misapplication*—it is believed a misapplication *so* shameless as to be hardly conceivable to any one out of Ireland. In short, Ireland has been sacrificed hitherto, *not* to a tyrannical government, but to the ignorance, apathy, cupidity, or ferocity of individuals within itself, endured too long, by A TOO LENIENT GOVERNMENT. It is time that this should cease; that the sense of the EMPIRE should prevail; that matters should be managed in Ireland precisely as they are managed in other parts of the community; that it should be reduced to the *same peace*, and follow the same plans of prosperity. In particular, it is too much that Irish landowners should first suffer their lands to be so mismanaged, as that the cultivators cannot have *bread*, and then expect that Scotland and England shall assist in keeping them down; or be so reckless of their own interests as to leave their roads impassable, and expect Scotland and England to repair them. It is impossible to suffer longer a country so rich in natural capabilities, and a people so patient as the people of Ireland have shown themselves to be, so easily contented, and, in proper circumstances, so cheerfully laborious, to be under the mismanagement of men, so unpatriotic or incapable, as facts so numerous and uncontradicted show Irish landowners to be, or of men so inveterately perverse as their priests.

A writer upon these subjects has proposed a *series of nineteen* separate bills for improvements in

Ireland, at an expense, of course, of as many thousand pounds to begin with. But who are to work them? The jobbing landowners of Ireland? It seems impossible. Hateful as the name of Commissions is, where every thing seems likely to be at last managed by commission, we think the improvement of Ireland *must* be placed under commission; or the laws for the construction of roads, &c. now so common to Scotland and England as to be almost part and parcel of their general law, must be transferred to Ireland; under certification, of having commissioners inflicted in case of need. Entails and burdens on estates must be disregarded; their rational improvement is a national care. **CONTRACTS** *against the public interest* should also be disregarded; and Ireland is overrun with such. The very tolls on public roads are all in the hands of *private individuals*, who could consequently, if they chose, shut up every road in Ireland; at least this is the *legal* inference. On some of the roads, the mail-contractor is the *proprietor of the road*; and there was, not long since, an act of Parliament, by which they could *charge toll for every change of horses within a bar*; and they, of course, changed them sometimes *four times*, and thus enriched themselves both as contractors and toll-keepers. On some lines *this power still exists!* Even the CUSTOMHOUSE stores are let to some individual vampire; and on a very late occasion, happening to get on fire, and the keys being in the keeper's pocket, who was enjoying himself out of town, the whole were burnt down, and damages to the extent of many thousand pounds incurred, for which it appears *the Government* was made liable. The country is therefore one scene of abuse; but Ireland itself, and Ireland alone, is to blame; as of *such* abuses, it is equally disgraceful to be the perpetrators or the sufferers.

COLONIZING IN IRELAND.

SHOULD the great improvements, local and general, which have been pointed at, not effect the relief to the rural districts of Ireland, or to the country generally, which is necessary, some such plan as the following seems at present in our power.

There are only two ways of occupying a country, viz. by agriculturists or manufacturers ; and to adjust the balance of these to circumstances, is one of the great secrets of a state. That is to say, if manufactures for export can be profitably followed, then as much as possible of the produce of the ground should be yielded for the subsistence of persons employed in manufactures ; the land should be cultivated by as few hands as possible. But if manufactures are found unprofitable, or of doubtful profit, then the people must, in some degree, return to the soil ; the land may be divided into smaller portions ; more of its produce may be consumed upon the spot. Land will, in this way, yield less rent, because it has more to maintain, but if due subsistence is provided for, the people will not be less happy.

There is a point, however, beyond which the subdivision of land cannot be carried, without unduly narrowing the circumstances of the cultivators, if they are to pay any adequate rent ; and even without paying any rent. To this condition, all countries chiefly agricultural, have a tendency. The people are subsisted, but they are subsisted merely. There is no luxury, no wealth, no reserved property. In the most prosperous years, they are only comfortable ; in years of scarcity they are in want. This was the situation of Scotland before the introduction of a system giving more wealth, and consequently more play to circumstances. It is, in part, the situation of *Ireland now*.

It is needless to say that, as a general principle, every man not wanted in agriculture, for *the most efficient and economical cultivation* of the soil, is a supernumerary. He is consuming food in agriculture that ought to go to the feeding of a manufacturer, employed in adding directly to the comfort of the country by producing manufactures for its use; or indirectly by producing manufactures to be exported, and return in money, or the materials of farther industry. One man with a pair of horses, is, in easy lands, considered equal to the care of fifty acres; that is to say, of so much of fifty acres as should be in tillage. But reduce the business of an individual and his family to twenty-five acres, or even to fifteen, or in poor lands to ten, and what a redundancy there would still be in Irish agriculturists. If a peasant can but *exist* on his patch he is happy, if he should have neither suitable food nor clothes; and so the produce of the ground is, in many cases, not only consumed on the spot, but does not yield a sufficient maintenance to the cultivator; and where a patch cannot be obtained, the agricultural labourer, not less besotted than his employer, will be contented to hang on till privation can go no farther. The consequences of this are every way disastrous. The cultivators of such patches, or their labourers, are necessarily idle during great part of their time; ignorant, of course, and exposed to every species of corruption. There is here not only a great waste of time and establishment, but a great moral misfortune. The lives of the individuals are not only lost to themselves and to society, but both they and their offspring are most probably maturing into burdens on both. If they can afford to yield any thing to the merchant, it is only in return for the *merest necessities*. They can afford to pay no dues of the state, nor perhaps of the landowner, and so become opposed to both, and to all laws. It is therefore necessary, not only to thin *such a population* where it exists, but to oppose as

a principle the system by which it is produced. The land must not only be cleared to a certain extent, but it must be kept clear.

On the other hand, it is obvious, that merely to drive people from the soil where they have been allowed improperly to accumulate, were to endeavour to cure one impropriety by the commission of another and a greater. It would be a crime in Ireland at present; and we are seeking how we may avoid it. Whether we are to lead the people to new lands, or to turn them into manufacturers, our conduct must be the same—they must be led, not driven: they must be led to settle on new lands by proper encouragement, or to become useful in manufactures by finding them congenial employment. Those who wish to see agriculture extended, will say it is lamentable to see millions of acres unoccupied, while the lands occupied are overcrowded; and they will urge the extension of cultivation. But it is little less lamentable, in reality, to see long reaches of country wholly agricultural; and therefore requiring to carry every article of produce so far, that half its value is exhausted in the expense of transport. Even a distillery or brewery set down in such a district would be useful, for it would render the produce portable. It would be farther useful, as it would lead the way to an extension of the home-market in profitable circumstances. Its neighbourhood would become a village, its pastures rich, and every article of produce acquire an additional value. But a manufactory employing a great number of hands would, of course, be of proportionally more value, both in clearing the land of its redundant people by giving better employment, and in drawing wealth to the district by its valuable sales; and constant vicinages of this description, from gentlemen's residences, rich farms, or flourishing manufactories, are exactly what constitutes A RICH COUNTRY. It is a universal home-market for profitable purposes; and this, and *not* exporting till people have nothing to eat, or

drink, or put on, is what constitutes a prosperous country.

In the view of leading to this, it is long since we have been of opinion, that the first step is a SURVEY by persons having the confidence of Government, and of course deserving that of the country. It should be directed particularly to suggest, first, proper sites for manufactories over the country generally, considered with reference to the wants of the districts, and consequently the chance of the manufacture's being assisted by internal support; and, next, to the nature of the site, the access existing or that could be created; the cheapness of land, of labour, &c. for all these are essential to its drawing wealth from abroad.

Next—Such improvements as we have mentioned having been considered, the canals that might be advantageously dug, the roads that might be made, the lands that might be reclaimed, and the bogs that might be drained, the sites for manufactures most promising to prove advantageous, should be selected in the first instance; and a proper bargain being made for the ground, these sites should be offered to the notice of Capitalists, with a promise of all necessary protection, and indemnity in case of loss from violence. Should capitalists come forward, or should the site seem decidedly eligible, a suitable military force should instantly be placed, with leave to the men to work, and even to settle, should they be so inclined. The barracks, store-houses, &c. should be so constructed, as that at no distant period they might be turned into a village-church, or town-house, warehouses and shops; in short, become the *nucleus* of a village or town. The building of these, clearing the ground, making roads, bridges, drains, &c. would create employment; and both this and the provisioning and clothing, of the troops, would set money agoing. The plan of the village should be laid down, a school erected, and the workpeople and others encouraged to build

in conformity to the plans, and by proper grants of ground to become settlers. The presence of the military is suggested, not only to preserve order, but to circulate money. It would also give security to capital; and under such a guarantee, such capitalists as could expect to be benefited would doubtless come forward. These would add to the amount of employment, and to the amount of circulation, increase the number of houses to be built, and of supplies to be furnished by the district. As the business of the main establishment proceeded, and the wealth to be drawn by it to the district came in, the other trades and establishments necessary would be added, and the end of the institution would be attained. In short, the proposal is that of COLONISING, but at home, in place of abroad; drawing inhabitants from districts and from employments in which they are not wanted, to districts in which profitable employment could be created for them.

In Scotland, villages and even towns of very considerable importance, have arisen within the last fifty years, from the circumstance of landowners of considerable extent, desiring to enlarge their farms, and consequently diminishing the number of their tenants, and to the humane or clear-sighted attentions of other landowners, having sites for villages to offer. In moors originally *barren*, in spots where *rock* or *stone* infinitely preponderated over the poorest soil, and on being dug up, *absolutely covered it to the depth of twelve or fourteen inches*, in mosses or bogs almost entirely valueless, corn fields have been created, and manufacturing villages have arisen, that, by the amount and industry of their population, create a circulation of wealth, and, a home consumption in their districts, greatly exceeding that of the richest proprietor, and of a description far more valuable and permanent. These villages have another value; they render their people more independent of casual stagnations in trade *than locations* in cities; for the patch of land that

in prosperous times is an amusement only, is a refuge in adversity; and with only half work or wages, enables them to weather the blast in quiet. These, and such as these, are the substitutes for her land-owners which Scotland has found, and which Ireland should seek. But it will seek them in vain while the present system continues; while the landowner lets his land he cares not how, nor to whom, and desires only to have his rent, whether from his fair share of the produce of the soil, or from the bones and muscles of its wretched cultivators; or while these cultivators, thus miserable in themselves, scatter misery around them, by the reckless destruction of property, and yet more horrible, the destruction of life.

As in this case the effort to ameliorate must be *simultaneous or it will be useless*, (as a wretched few might counteract the efforts of the many,) it is necessary that the tendency should be made general and imperative; that is to say, that if all could not be compelled to ameliorate, at least none should be permitted to go back. The inhabitants of a state associate and pay dues to government, for no other purpose but that the general peace and prosperity may thereby be maintained and promoted. This was and is the origin and the end of all association. Now, while famine and misery are devouring almost millions of the population of a state, its comfort cannot be said to be provided for; and while millions of acres of the general patrimony are lying waste, the general interest cannot be said to be attended to. It is clearly the duty of government to provide that this state of things shall cease, and that by whatever means may be necessary.

Farther, there are circumstances in which the opening of leading canals, and even roads, are proper acts of an intelligent Government; for they may be general much more than individual benefits, and greatly accelerate the progress of improvement. Before it can be profitable for private speculators to

open a canal or a road through a tract of country, there must be an accumulation of commerce struggling for vent ; and so long as this is repressed, the prosperity of the country is repressed. But a canal or road opened in a proper direction, not only gives facilities to existing commerce, but creates the intercourse which it renders possible. Like a ditch properly drawn, it becomes insensibly filled ;—every spot within its influence is benefited and acquires wealth, and **THE COUNTRY** is benefited in the general prosperity.

These, therefore, point out the propriety of the general Government of a country assisting in various directions ; and if it does not so assist, it is not only wanting to its own glory and the general good, but fails in one of its most important duties. Happily it is no longer problematical, whether such exertions might succeed in Ireland, as in other countries ; for they have been tried, and with the most signal success. In a wild, and comparatively unknown district, on the confines of the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, some operations on the part of Government appear to have been conducted with the most beneficial effects. This tract of country, comprehending upwards of 900 square miles, was distinguished by a more than ordinary degree of indolence, discontent, and turbulence in its inhabitants ; and their abodes being almost inaccessible from want of roads, crime frequently escaped unpunished. During the disturbances of the winter of 1821, and spring of 1822, this district was the asylum for white-boys, smugglers, and robbers ; and stolen cattle were constantly driven to it, as to a safe and impenetrable retreat. “ A vast change,” (says our authority,) “ has been effected in this district since the month of September 1822, when new lines of road were laid out, under the direction of Mr Griffith ;” and the progress of this important change is described by Mr Griffith himself as follows :—“ At the commencement of the works,

the people flocked to them from all quarters."— This does not bespeak a tendency to voluntary "indolence."—" Their general appearance bespoke extreme poverty; their looks were haggard, and their clothing wretched; they rarely possessed any implements of husbandry beyond a very small ill-made spade; and, as a consequence, it followed, that nearly the whole face of the country was unimproved, and in a state of nature. But since the completion of the roads in 1829, rapid strides have been made towards cultivation and improvement. Upwards of *sixty* new lime-kilns were built, for the purpose of burning lime for agriculture, within the two preceding years. Carts, ploughs, and harrows, of superior construction, became common; new houses, of a better class, were built in great numbers in the vicinity of the new roads, and also in the adjacent villages. New enclosures of mountain farms have been made in every direction; and this country, which, at no distant period, was the scene of lawless outrage, and one of the strongholds of what might be termed the Rebel Army, quickly became perfectly tranquil, and exhibited a scene of industry and exertion at once pleasing and remarkable. To the credit of the people be it told, that a large portion of the money received by them for labour on the roads was husbanded with care, and subsequently laid out in building substantial houses, and in the purchase of cattle and implements of husbandry; and numerous examples might be adduced, of poor labourers possessing neither money, houses nor lands, when first employed on the public roads, who, within a short period, were able to take farms, build houses, and stock their lands with cows and young cattle."

These improvements, however, so far as they have gone, have, it is feared, been executed *entirely* at the public cost; and the only passes previously existing in the district were effected "*immediately subsequent* to the rebellion of the Earl of

Desmond," and *also*, " at the expense of the Government."

Other instances might be given, both of the *avidity* of the people for work, and their careful and useful application of the proceeds, but they are unnecessary. We conclude as follows:—A million a year, at least, is at present expended in connection with the government of Ireland, and principally in supporting an immense military and constabulary force. From what has been stated, and from more that might be stated, we think it is obvious, that instead of proclaiming districts under military law, they should be proclaimed under a commission for road-making or draining, and the proprietors in the districts liable to be assessed. This would operate beneficially in two ways,—in permanently improving the country, and bringing land-owners back to look after their interests; or at least making the labours of the country available for its improvement, and the comfortable subsistence of its people. **THIS**, and not supporting a few absent *individuals*, is the true end for which the earth was given—for which people have associated, and governments have been set up; and if the proprietors of Ireland cannot see this, it will be the duty, the inevitable duty, of the Government and people of GREAT BRITAIN to show it them.

ON THE PROPRIETY AND NECESSITY OF ENLIGHTENING THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND;—
AND ESPECIALLY OF EXTIRPATING THE HERESIES OF ROME.

IN all that we have said, it has been inferred, that the only end of government is to improve the condition of the people, and first their physical condition. But, " Paul may plant, and Apollos may water," but, if in a barren soil, there will

be no increase. The people of Ireland, or any other people, may be made happy to-day, but if they have not been instructed how to preserve their happiness, no permanent good has been done. A system of law and of morals, raising each in his situation into the rational agent and guardian of his own happiness, or, in defect of understanding in himself, retaining him in the proper course by the mere force of the system, is as necessary to the happiness of a people, as good laws in agriculture or in commerce are necessary to their prosperity in these pursuits. Now, the classes at present so embarrassed in Ireland, are, generally speaking, ignorant; they are idle, perhaps from necessity, and, as a consequence of both, they are foolish and turbulent.

That they are ignorant will readily be admitted; but being, even at this late hour, ignorant to a degree that is almost inconceivable, we are under the necessity of making it palpable. "It is a prevailing notion in this country, (says CROLY, a Catholic priest of undoubted character, and under date 1834), that priests possess the most extraordinary powers imaginable; that the visible and invisible world is under their control!—that they can at their pleasure make sick or well, give prosperity or adversity, salvation or damnation!"—"They (Catholics) hold the strangest opinions regarding departed souls. They fancy the huntsman, the jockey, the sporting squire, will be riding their favourite horses in the other world! and they are persuaded that, when any particular mishap befalls them, it is done through the malicious intervention of some deceased persons, their enemies."

"And thinks, transported to that happier sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company,"

is supposed to pourtray the opinions of the savage of Africa; but, from the above, it would seem to

be equally descriptive of the Catholics of Ireland of the present day. "They in general," (continues Mr CROLY) "set more value on trivial observances, than on the weighty points of the law. They are extremely addicted to lying, to fraud and circumvention! And nothing can persuade them, but that they ought to hate and EXTERMINATE, if in their power, all who differ from them in religion!"

This is terrible. The persons so described are not only savages, but savages exceedingly perverted; and that the description is true, is attested by the habitual character of the majority of the sect; in their absurd beliefs, their insane proceedings upon almost every occasion where their passions or their prejudices have become excited; their utter disregard of truth on the most solemn occasions; their ferocious and wholesale murders, without motive or remorse; in short, their disregard of all law, civil or moral, at the instigation of the priest, or from reliance on his power to pardon them. It is astonishing that Governments have not long ago seen, that with such a power as that usurped by the priests of Rome, and such insane beliefs as they inculcate, it is impossible for any people to advance in civilization, or for any Government to exercise a really efficient control. It is more astonishing still, that, even at this hour, the policy of the Church of Rome is regarded as a matter of RELIGION. But this is the fact; and it is absolutely necessary that different opinions should prevail.

It seems of little consequence to show, that the Papacy is, in every one of its claims, AN IMPOSTURE. Nevertheless this is the fact. The Roman Dictators, and latterly Emperors, found it convenient to unite at last all the powers known in the state;—those of consul, general, and even high priest; and when, upon the introduction of Christianity, or rather after its corruption, the

Pontificate became again surrounded with splendour and authority, and from the removal of the empire to Byzantium, a separate pontiff became necessary for Rome, HE, in process of time, laid claim to the temporal sovereignty, as the emperors had before usurped the spiritual. It is generally known and admitted, that the decretal on which the Roman Pontiff founds his claim to temporal sovereignty is a forgery, executed, or at least brought to light, several centuries after its pretended date. But the matter is of no moment, as, even if the decree had been genuine, it was nothing worth, as no emperor could convey what was not his. His usurpation of supremacy among Pontiffs, is of later date still.

The pretensions of the Papacy in other respects are equally absurd and ignorant. His name of POPE, PAPA or FATHER, was applied by the savages of Europe to priests, as that of GREAT FATHER is now applied by the American Indians to the President of the United States. His vestures, and the vestures of the priesthood generally, are gross evidences of their pagan and foolish origin. The *Tiara*, as it is called, or triple crown of the Pope, instead of having the respectable significance usually ascribed to it, is the head-dress of a witch or infernal deity of the pagan times,—“*the triple HECATE* ;” his keys of *Heaven, Earth and Hell*, are the keys of the same illustrious obscure ; and, of course, his assumption of power in these quarters, has no other origin. His *mître*, and his *figured robes*, are the cap and robes of old necromancers—the figure of the cross and other embroideries superseding those of serpents, &c. ; and even his crosier is but the wand of a magician, tipped with the semblance of a *crook*, as the emblem of his assumed character of shepherd ; and nearly the worst he could have chosen, for the instrument is only used to catch the animals intended to be *fleeced or killed*. Even the tonsure, or imitative

baldness of priests, is copied from the Eastern Magi, who were always old men. He is "a thing of shreds and patches."

The worship of images is taken from the Pagan superstitions. The raising of persons whom they chose to consider distinguished, and worthy of being sainted, is also copied from Paganism ; with this unfortunate difference, that the gods of the ancients, whether men or animals, were always promoted for some merit ; OSIRIS, if he was a man, for having taught the use of the plough,—if an ox, for his useful qualities ; the Ibex for its exterminating serpents ; even the ass, for having taught to prune the vine ; and others, men and women, for benefits conferred upon their worshippers, or for their valour, their integrity, their beauty, or their general worth. But after the Apostles, the deities of the Roman Calendar would hardly pass muster as respectable men, though they may be very perfect specimens of the absurdity, verging on insanity, necessary to form a god of this idolatry :—Men who have lived for years, chained like wild beasts, on the tops of pillars in deserts ; or subjected themselves to spiked girdles, as in Pagan India still ; or denied themselves food or raiment, as if these sacrifices could be acceptable to the Giver of both, or who have dozed away half their lives in holes ! It has not been even sought to disguise the origin of this saint worship ; namely, the desire to conciliate all men, of all opinions, however absurd and wild ; for the statue of the Jupiter of antiquity is, with a new name only, the St Peter of the modern worshipper of brass and iron ; and the *Venus Parturiens*, or *Lucina*, or something or other, is now equally respected as the Virgin and Child. This all-embracing facility of the Romish system accounts for its boasted extension ; for it adopted and engrafted every thing necessary to answer its purposes ; the caps, the robes, the staves, the baldness, the sandals, and enshrined (for

concealment) or enshrined the images of every barbarous horde which it sought to conciliate. The chief minister of this country, in his seat in Parliament, lately repeated the opinion of an ancient writer, that he considered a certain Emperor mad, who, desiring to reign in Egypt, declined to adopt its religion. He evidently inferred that the same sentence ought to be extended to this country, for resisting, as it does, the superstition so unfortunately rooted in Ireland. But he forgot that this principle has limits. There was very lately a considerable sect called "Wahabees, or assassins," and under a chief termed "the Old Man of the Mountain." Their principle was, to obey their chief in every thing, without question, even to throwing themselves from a precipice; and his principle was, to remove all opposers to his progress by assassination. This is the principle of the 'old man of the *seven* mountains," very slightly extended; for that system expressly excludes the right of private judgment; inculcates that the end sanctifies the means; and that the priest can purge from even the deadliest sins; and yet "the Assassins" have *not* been conciliated by adopting their religion; on the contrary, they have been *exterminated* by universal consent.

The whole ceremonies of the Church of Rome are Pagan or Jewish. Their altar is Pagan, rendered respectable by Judaism; their sacred fire upon the altar is Pagan, their incense Jewish; their ringing of bells, though pretended to be merely to mark the stages of an otherwise unintelligible ceremony, is Pagan; even their consecration, and of course partial adoration of their larger bells is also Pagan; for the bell is an appendage of most heathen temples, and is *worshipped* in Birmah even now. The originators of this superstition openly sought to conciliate all worshippers, but not by turning them from their idols as was enjoined, but by including idols and worshippers together, within the pale of their

church. This was natural. They had themselves been Idolaters ; and their sole object was to make Rome the head of idolatry as well as of empire. In their most solemn act, the priests of Rome show themselves still to be ministers under the *old* dispensation, and not under *the new* ; for they call the mass, which they continually celebrate, THE SACRIFICE of the mass ; now it is well known, that under the new dispensation, all sacrifices are abolished. There was ONE sacrifice, and it was *the last* ; and the most solemn rite of THE CHRISTIAN is a mere *commemoration* of this sacrifice.

But if the trappings, and forms, and ceremonies of the Church of Rome are *ante*-Christian and absurd, as well as *anti*-Christian, its principles so far as peculiar are equally so. It teaches to despise, and so far as convenient oppose, all authority but its own ; THE FOUNDER of CHRISTIANITY taught submission to the powers that be, in all things lawful. It teaches its votaries to *hate*, and *if in their power exterminate* all who differ from them in religion, and has exemplified its doctrines through all ages by the most revolting cruelties,—as it does wherever it dares to do so at this hour ; HE taught to love all men, and do violence to none. It pretends to confer on its priests the *absolute* power of absolving from sin of whatever depth or atrocity, or however unrepented of ; HE only declared, that whomsoever his disciples, *following his precepts*, should declare to be loosed from sin, they should be loosed ; but always presupposing that they could only be his disciples, or be supposed to exercise his authority, if they obeyed and served him in sincerity and in truth. The assumptions against these are assumptions against common sense, as well as against Christianity ; yet all the doctrines of the Church of Rome, *so far as peculiar*, are assumptions against these ; and the principles that are unsound so completely neutralise the sound—if indeed *any remnant of soundness* is left—that the Church

of Rome, instead of being *the only true Christian Church*, is not *a Christian Church at all*, in any true sense ; for it is not calling upon a name that makes a Christian, but obeying the laws of Christianity.

Other assumptions of the Church of Rome, though at once absurd and fraudulent, are yet less directly pernicious ; but they serve to explain the origin of the whole. For example, the interference with the meats to be eaten by the followers of this system, was doubtless suggested to those who first adopted the idea, by circumstances of climate. In certain countries, the indulgence in flesh is yet found to be injurious to health ; and at certain seasons of the year, it might be inconvenient in other respects. The regulation of a partial abstinence in every week, and during the season of spring, when Lent is observed, are therefore regulations of the physician, though enforced as a point of law, as all things useful then were, and to a certain extent still are. These occasional fasts are found adopted in all Eastern countries, in which observances merely natural and civil are generally enforced, as if they were also religious. The officers of the Sovereign and Pontiff, the Priest and King, uniting the offices of magistrate, soothsayer, and physician, would naturally fall to enforce these regulations of healthful police. Doubtless, they were also intrusted, and properly, with the power of dispensing with strict observance, where it was either necessary or proper. It was an easy step to require money for the certificate of indulgence, and, lastly, for the mere permission. The only thing surprising is, that it should have been possible to invest with the character of a religious observance, what is obviously one of health and convenience only ; to make it seem necessary to be observed in all climates, and without regard to circumstances ; and, lastly, to make it be believed, that though the observance is religious, it *may safely* be dispensed with, if sanctioned by the

priest, without any regard to principle, but upon the mere payment of money. Yet this is one of the tenets, that is to say, impostures of Rome.

The various other impostures that bring money to that establishment, such as pretending to absolve from irregularities of conduct in any respect, and in every respect after commission, and pardoning for and sanctioning before commission, and particularly, whether in regard to the laws of the church, as it is called, or those of morality;—dispensing with the laws against marrying within the degrees which it has been found convenient to forbid; with the obligation of respecting the laws of nature; with speaking the truth, nay, sanctioning falsehood; dispensing with all laws necessary to the preservation of property, life, and fame; and, in short, with the laws most necessary to the existence of society, need not be adverted to particularly; it is enough to say, that every crime conceivable, and many that are not conceivable to minds ordinarily pure, may be found in the catalogue of the Romish system, from the deepest and most dreadful that can be perpetrated to the most venial wandering thought, all ticketed and labelled, like goods for sale, with the price of absolution for their commission!

Of course, it need not be said, that though the inculcation of such beliefs may be useful in preserving the influence of the priests of Rome, it is utterly opposed to all progress in civilization, and subversive of all civil authority. The belief in such powers can only exist in connexion with the grossest ignorance. The belief in them is inculcated by the priests of Rome by all possible means; it is their only reliance; and consequently, all true knowledge is excluded with equal industry. It necessarily follows, that all who are REALLY BELIEVERS in the doctrines of Rome, (if so we must still term them), are GROSSLY IGNORANT; and therefore not only incapable of making good citizens upon proper principles, but too often ready, on the

promptings of foolish or bad men, or of their own passions or interests, or supposed interests, to rise up for the most ridiculous purposes, and commit the most causeless and atrocious crimes. The history of all countries that have ever been under the blighting influence of this system attests this. Nor is it to be wondered at. People so perverted and misinformed, are like persons drunk or insane, scarcely responsible agents. But it is exceedingly to be wondered at, that from the way in which this system has been disguised and puzzled, from the terrible influence it has been able to exercise, at once from superstition and from temporal power, it has contrived to be respected, or at least treated, even to this hour, as a system of religious belief, when in reality it is nothing whatever, but a gross and most pernicious political imposture. The phenomenon of a would-be statesman, and supposed enlightened man, kneeling in the dirt to a priest of Rome, is ludicrous; but for a GOVERNMENT to treat with the same priest, as a character deserving its respect; to suffer him to pervert and blind its subjects, make them idiots incapable of distinguishing right from wrong, a disgrace to themselves and a torment to others, and then turn round and punish them, is lamentable. Yet this has too long been the state of things in many quarters: it is the state of things in this country at this moment. It has of late been encouraged by Statesmen; its toleration has even been recommended by Divines! Its votaries are filling the kingdom with their exultations, and disgracing it by their practices; yet still this is regarded as a RELIGION! It is time that it should be declared to be NO RELIGION; to be a mere temporal invention, for temporal purposes, and pursued by any but religious means; that so far as peculiar, it is productive of nothing but folly and crime; and that its follies and its crimes must cease together in these kingdoms.

THE TEMPORAL NATURE OF THE POLICY OF
THE PRIESTS OF ROME, AND THE NECESSITY
FOR MODIFYING OR EXTINGUISHING IT IN
THESE KINGDOMS.

THE pertinacity of the priests of Rome is such, and their conduct so scandalously unscrupulous, that there is a necessity for showing the true nature of the system in the most clear and palpable light. Their conduct in Ireland need not be referred to; it leaves hardly time or room for thinking of any thing else. Even in Scotland, above all other countries stern in its denunciation of this abuse, expensive temples are rising in every direction, wrung from people who must in their turn be subsisted from charity. The paraphernalia of expensive robes and paper mitres are again to be seen; and smoke from censers handed in idle ceremony from priest to priest, adds the dignity of obscurity and unintelligibility to what, without them, would be nothing. Even nunneries are raising their heads; the blandishments of priestly superiors are set off by velvet carpets and silver salvers; and foolish flirts, playing at nuns and abbesses, are seducing the weak to be as useless as they are, as miserable, and perhaps as mischievous, or, at least, to live in luxury at the expense of greater fools. Strip the proceedings of priests of the pretext of religion, and in all their bearings they appear the proceedings not only of madmen, but of madmen of a very dangerous character; for their endeavour is, not merely to inculcate beliefs against the evidence of our senses, and by the most disgraceful means, but against every principle by which men are made happy in society; and all for no other single object than this, the power and wealth and predominance of priests.

Priests were, in their origin, neither preachers

nor teachers, but persons officiating in certain ceremonies. It might be invidious to go farther, and say they were impostors from the beginning, pretending to deliver oracles that were never uttered, and making merchandise of credulity in every shape. The priests of Rome, however, saw it their interest to become teachers of Christianity, and for many centuries taught, or pretended to teach it, and it only. But, at present, they neither teach it, nor pretend to teach it, as contained in the Christian volume; they openly and explicitly declare, that they teach the doctrines of the Church of Rome. It is true, they pretend that these doctrines are necessary additions to the Christian code; that is a matter to be examined; but this acknowledgment, which is unavoidable, is sufficient to show, that they teach other doctrines than those contained in the volume of Christianity.

The origin of these new doctrines is well known, and as an established system they are of comparatively recent date. They had been gradually introduced in various quarters, but were first made marks of sect, by being attempted to be universally enforced, in a meeting of the then general church, held only about two hundred and seventy years ago; and their sole authority is a *BULL* of the then reigning Pope, aided by a profligate minority of that assembly who had adhered to him, and, being in possession of the temporal power, have been able to make the worse appear the better cause in many quarters to this day.

The enlightened ideas of these individuals, and which they considered not only entitled to rank with the sacred volume, but to supersede it in many particulars, being points of faith "without which no man can be saved!" may be disclosed as follows:—

1. Acknowledging the authority of the ecclesiastical traditions: the same being incapable of acknowledgment by any ordinary mind.

2. Acknowledging the holy mother church to be the *SOLE JUDGE* of the sense in which the Scriptures are to be

received : a point of faith that renders any thought upon the part of the receiver not only useless but inconvenient.

3. Acknowledging that there are seven sacraments :— To be administered by priests, and, of course, paid for ! Extreme unction being one, and matrimony another ; of which last the priests never partake, though they say it confers grace, and Peter their chief was married.

4. Acknowledging (as a point of faith, “ without which no man can be saved !)” all the received and approved rites of the church of Rome, in the solemn administration of the above ;—including mummeries unimaginable.

5. Acknowledging certain doctrines about original sin ; as per decree of “ the most Holy Council of Trent !”

6. Acknowledging the doctrine of “ a true and real and substantial conversion”—of a piece of bread into flesh and blood.

7. Acknowledging that either bread or wine, may be both bread and wine ; in short, a miserable reference to the preceding.

8. Acknowledging “ and constantly holding that there is a purgatory” (place and size not mentioned), “ and that the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful ;” that is to say, by the prayers of the priest, being first paid for. The Scriptures say, that where the tree falls there it must lie. But this would limit the services of the priest to this world, which would be a loss.

9. Acknowledging that the saints, who reign with Christ, are to be venerated and invocated, and their reliques venerated ! Whether any of their saints do reign, is not a question.

10. Acknowledging that IMAGES are to be had and retained, and due honour and veneration to be bestowed upon them. Amount considered due, not stated.

11. Acknowledging that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in his church, and that their use is most wholesome to Christian people. This, one would think, must depend upon their nature, which is not stated.

12. Acknowledging the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all churches, (if history says otherwise, *anathema sit !*) and promising and swearing true obedience to the bishop of Rome, successor of Saint Peter, the prince of apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ, &c.

“ ALL THE REST ALSO, delivered and defined by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, I receive and profess without doubt ! and likewise, all things contrary, and condemned and anathematized

by the church, I, in like manner, condemn, reject, and anathematise !”

THIS IS “THE TRUE CATHOLIC FAITH, WITHOUT WHICH NO MAN CAN BE SAVED !” and this is the NONSENSE that has distracted kingdoms, and is even now covering a great part of the earth with misery. For rejecting such insanities, men, women, and children have been shot, hanged, and burnt, and subjected to other tortures worthy only of fiends. Above all, the professors of such insanities a British Legislature has again let loose, and even endowed a college, whence the doctrines may be disseminated ! Under these circumstances, we must proceed with suitable earnestness,

“ Though to be calm exceeds all power of phlegm.”

It is hardly necessary to remark, that all these ARTICLES OF FAITH, as they are called, being *superadditions* of *the priesthood*, without any other authority than their own, ARE HERESIES ; this is clear ; and that the persons protesting against and resisting them, formed in reality the TRUE CHURCH ; this is equally clear. But the ACTUAL HERESISTS having retained the then head of the church, and in him the semblance of her authority ; and above all, remaining united and active, as the abettors of a bad cause generally are, they have fixed the *name* which was due to themselves upon their opponents, and *most impudently assumed the name of true men for themselves.*

Passing over that as unworthy of farther notice, we come next to ask which of these twelve articles of faith is of a *religious* character ? There is not one. They are articles *entirely of temporal import*, intended to bolster up and fix the authority of the Church of Rome. There is not one single maxim capable of being wrested to any other meaning ; they are wholly temporal in their intention and operation, and they are most disgraceful. Taking in the whole range of beliefs and practices peculiar

to this Church, the same blasting sentence must be applied. There is not *one* of them calculated to ameliorate society, but to befool and ruin it. There is not in the whole range of their dogmas one particle of religion, or reason, or benevolence to mankind, or good meaning of any kind ; the whole is a half mad and wholly mischievous imposture ; a most barefaced attempt to extinguish reason and religion together, that a set of idle madmen might inherit the earth.

The "PETER'S PENCE," as it was called, or tribute to the Church, was in reality the old tribute payable to the empire, but, like the other Idols of the empire, new named. This has been abolished in this country. Is there a reason why it should not ? Not one. But does a priest of that system (for church it is not) acknowledge that it has been rightly abolished ? Far from it. On the contrary, the great, and indeed the only rational object of Rome, (if even that is rational) is to restore the authority of Papacy, and of course the payment of this tribute. Is there any thing religious in this ? All the other objects are in subordination to this, and about as rational as it is. The first doctrine of Rome is, that it is the only true church :—Catholics (as they are called) are sworn to it. Has that any thing to do with religion ? If, indeed, it were anxious to show *the truth of its doctrines*, by comparing them with the Christian volume, something of a religious nature might be inferred ; but instead of this, it shuts that volume up, and its only argument instead is, *dico ergo sum* ;—I *say* I am the true church, and *therefore* I am. If it could even have boasted the priority of date, which it seems to assume among other things, it would not have availed it. It would have amounted, and does amount to only something like this, that a Church having once been a Church, is always a Church, even if it should be occupied as a college of Impostors, or, as named by higher authority, a den of thieves. It inculcates that the

priests of the Church of Rome are the *sole judges of the sense in which the Scriptures are to be received* ; and this, on a farther assumption, that this church is infallible. Has that any thing to do with religion or common sense ? It inculcates belief in, and obeying and serving the Bishop of Rome and his priests, in defiance of any merely temporal sovereign, (so far as it may conveniently be done), in preference to any other earthly power, or to any divine or human law. Has *that* any thing to do with religion ? In short, the priests of Rome are the organized spies and officers of a temporal chief, spreading his authority by peculiar means indeed, but still spreading his authority, and *that only*. If, in contending with other systems, they find it necessary to admit a mixture of morality *in appearance*, it is only in appearance ; for it is always in the understanding that the observance of it is subject to the controul of the priests, who are unqualifiedly declared to be "*the representatives of God on earth !*" the *sole* interpreters of *his* will, and what ought to be the conduct of *their* worshippers !

In pursuance of their plans for *spreading* their slavery, they consider it not only lawful but imperative to resort to any means necessary to effect their purpose, holding *their purpose sacred, and the end to sanctify the means* ; and their meannesses under this head are unimaginable : and in pursuance of their plans for *retaining* their authority, they have invented confession on the one hand, and the pretended inviolability of the seal of confession on the other : that is, by means of confession, the priests (the ears of their chief,) hear every thing it is necessary for them to know, and that there may be no mistake, they appear to hear *every* thing ; they hear it under the pretext that *they tell nothing* ; but where the interest of their system is concerned, their vow to that supersedes all other vows, or they have a latitude of interpretation and power of dispensa-

tion, equal to all purposes. In this way, all safety is banished from society, or even from domestic intercourse; for the weak are made the spies and enslavers of the whole. Nor does this exhaust the merits of the priesthood. Where other interests than their own are concerned, they make their silence, as to circumstances revealed in confession, an especial boast; and so use it as to show that their hand is against all society. Perjury, murder, treason may be unhinging society, and covering the earth with misery; the fame, the property, the life of thousands may be in peril, with the perfect knowledge of the priests of Rome; the criminals may even have received absolution for their premeditated crimes, but the priests will not reveal it. *Whatever may be in peril with their perfect privacy, they may, according to their principles, "not only deny all knowledge, but if necessary confirm their denial with an oath!"* because, as they blasphemously say, what they learn in confession, they learn not as men, but as God! and therefore cannot be expected to disclose as men. *This has been proved in instances innumerable, and has lately been declared in a court of justice.*

The strongest sanction of sincerity, the bond on which hang property, life and fame, the main stay of society, is thus distinctly acknowledged to be, with them, of *no value*, when put in balance with what they choose to consider their interests. They not only consider themselves entitled to be silent where others are compelled to speak, but to *swear falsely* if they shall think it "necessary." The priests of Rome, therefore, are not only the organized spies and officers of a foreign power in the heart of every state, openly labouring to spread the power of their chief "as much as in them lies," but this at the expense of subverting all the laws of society; for this is claiming a power to dispense with all laws whatever, except the promptings of their own insanity.

And the results are completely in accordance

with these circumstances. Wherever this delusion prevails, there is no truth, nor honour, nor safety. There is, consequently, no prosperity; there is no peace; or, if there is, it is the slumber of utter ignorance, almost of the extinction of intellect. The priests of Rome do for the mind, what its soldiers did for *their* conquests; "they create a solitude and call it peace."

On referring to Ireland, so far as sunk under this superstition, we find all this confirmed. The people are absolutely *mindless*; they seem to have lost the *faculty* of thinking, along with the habit; they are like BRUTES in the hands of KEEPERS! We see in these quarters, society as it existed twelve centuries ago: Idleness, ignorance, and poverty predominant; faction contending against faction without aim or object, with all the ferocity, and about all the wisdom of wild beasts; *the idea of rational liberty or of self-government unknown*, and *blind submission* to others an article of faith; knocking down men in the market-place in open day, for daring to read a book forbidden by the priests, considered an action so meritorious, as to justify the periling of life, though that reading is essential to every interest, and enjoined by every law; being driven to church with a stick, like cattle to a penn, and from it with as little ceremony; performing every action at the unquestioned bidding of a priest, and those priests inculcating such madness, as the business of their lives, in defiance of all reason, and against all law but their own! This is the aspect of Romanism in Ireland at this moment. The people have no idea of personal dignity, or liberty. *The law of the land is not the law to them*; they are not permitted to suppose they have any interest in it, or in its being duly administered, and they feel interest only in its transgressors;—and while the priests remain as they are, and their influence as it is, this state of things must continue.

Can there be a doubt what should be the con-

clusion? What man who thinks or possesses the materials of thought, who has feelings of personal right or of personal liberty, who has either present property or rational prospects, friends to love, or a family to leave, would wish to leave either at the mercy of a Romish priesthood, or in the care of a community debased by that superstition? If there is one, let him look round on Europe,

“ Or even where’er this superstition reigns,”

and what does he see? Does he see intelligence? Liberty? Happiness? Security? Or does he not see the reverse of all these—ignorance, slavery, misery, insecurity and crime? From the blinding and brutifying principles pursued as a system by these priests, can it be otherwise? And seeing, hearing, touching, and in our own persons almost tasting these things, can we submit to their being perpetuated, or even longer continued? It is almost disgraceful to the days we live in, that such a question should be necessary.

There are many respectable and many intelligent men apparent members of this church, because they have been born of parents similarly circumstanced; but they have become intelligent solely by disregarding its injunctions; and they feel and even denounce both its ignorance and its impostures, whenever they may do so with safety. Even these men are guilty of sin against society, in not openly avowing their sentiments; but they have many excuses; they have to brave the weakness of friends, and the ferocity of an ignorant and misguided multitude. But the Legislators of this country (a Protestant state intrusting its interests to Protestant hands) have much to answer for, in so far as in them lay returning the country to barbarism, by regarding, as entitled to indulgence on religious principles, a system of political imposture, degrading to human nature.

Happily all may yet be retrieved; and the course of *THE COUNTRY* is clear. The question is not *one of RELIGION*, but of *CIVIL GOVERNMENT*, and

it must be treated as such. **THE PRIESTS MUST BE REDUCED TO REASON, OR EXPELLED.** They must be compelled to consider themselves as the religious monitors, not the civil lawgivers of their people ; and those monitions must be brought back to the standards of reason and Christianity.

1. They must give up the nonsense of the exclusive sanctity of their Church, and all pro-sele-tyzing upon that principle.

2. They must give up the authority of its traditions.

3. They must give up the exclusive power of the Church to interpret the Scriptures. The laws must be delivered to the people ; they must not only be permitted, but *taught* to "*search the Scriptures ;*" and these must not be mutilated nor interpolated.

4. They must renounce all pretensions whatever to the power of *pardoning* any transgression of the civil or the moral law : or of concealing any crime cognizable by society, *upon any pretext*, under pain of being held liable to punishment as *accessaries* or *abettors* of the crimes.

5. They must, above all, renounce utterly the pretension to *the right to swear falsely* in any case, or under any pretext ; under certification, that, if convicted, they must be punished as common per-jurers, if the consequences of their crime have been merely civil ; and with *death, if it has led to death.*

6. They must renounce and abjure all belief in the power, *in any quarter*, to absolve from any crime ; except in that of the LAW to relieve from *civil consequences.*

7. They must renounce all *temporal allegiance* to the Bishop of Rome, and all power in that quarter to interfere with the civil Institutions of this kingdom, or *with the instruction of its subjects in civil matters ;* admitting the SUPREMACY OF THE LAW in all things to be taught to its subjects for *their government in society* : and of course, abjur-

ing the power of any one to undermine or gain-say.

In all these there is not a pretext for saying that RELIGION is interfered with. The check would be on IRRELIGION—on folly or infamy. To this extent the civil government is not only entitled, but *bound* to interfere, in justice to itself and to society.

Trace the consequences of this infamous system but in one instance. From confidence in the power of pardon in priests, a murder is committed. A person wholly innocent is by chance accused; and to end the pursuit, two persons interested for the criminal or criminals, or hostile to the accused, go forward, and by false testimony obtain the innocent to be convicted. They go to the priest and reveal their crime, even while the victim of their villany is yet living; they express repentance, and according to the principles of this system, THE PRIEST MUST PARDON THEM, and at the same time conceal what he has heard, and of course allow the innocent to be executed! Is this a system to be tolerated under the name of RELIGION? They are mad who propose it, and little less so who have suffered, and would still suffer it. Instead of releasing it from the chains in which we found it, it should have been, and it should still be proclaimed as unfit for civilization, and utterly and for ever extinguished. Had this been done, when something much less wise was done, the pestilence would by this time have been nearly extinguished in Europe.

The supremacy of the laws should be asserted also, in regulating all the *fiscal* arrangements of the Church of Rome in this country, directly or indirectly affecting the condition of the people.

The mass was originally said in Latin, because, on coming to this country, the priests knew no other language: But why now waste the time of the

people, in hearing a language which they do not understand?

Next—As it is essential to the general and individual interests of the people, that they should not, in improper circumstances, enter into marriages, and it is placing the interests of the priest, in opposition to his duty, to suffer him to receive emolument for the performance of such an office, there should be no dues on marriage or baptism.

Third—If the holidays of the Church of Rome are not the same with those of other churches, they should at least not be more in number, that the hard-working of other persuasions may not be taxed with supporting the beggars created by the idleness of this. Upon the same principle, pilgrimages should be suppressed as idle and nonsensical, and the shrines thrown down.

Until these things are done, neither the men nor the children of Ireland can be properly instructed; and until they shall be properly instructed, Ireland cannot prosper—it can hardly be improved. Such a change, therefore, is indispensable; and they will be guilty of great cruelty who shall oppose it, for they will be prolonging the misery of millions.*

* There is one point in this system, on which I have not chosen to trust myself; I mean that tenet that forbids all faith with heretics, as the Romanists with equal insolence and absurdity term, and, as if it inferred perdition, all persons "differing in opinion" from them. WESLEY has treated this point very much as I have treated some others. "With persecution (says he) I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as boundless a freedom in religion as any man can conceive; but this does not touch the point. I consider not whether the Romish religion be true or false; I build nothing on the one or the other supposition. Therefore away with all your commonplace declamation about intolerance and persecution for religion! yet I insist upon it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

I prove this by a plain argument, (let him answer that can), that no Roman Catholic *does or can give security* for his allegiance or peaceable behaviour. I prove it thus. It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men but by a public council, 'that no faith is to be kept with heretics.' This has

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

Having stated our opinion of the anti-social and abominable nature of the system termed POPERY, we can have no hesitation in saying, that Christianity should be disseminated through the aid of an establishment maintained at the public expence. The schoolmaster and clergyman are the best assistants of government, or rather they stand at the fountain of all government: for they teach the whole people, both how they may govern themselves, and administer the law to others when admitted to that trust. It is almost absurd to speak

been openly avowed by the Council of Constance, but it never was openly disclaimed. It is a fixed maxim of the Church of Rome. But so long as it is so, nothing can be more plain, than that the members of that Church can give no reasonable security, to any government, for their allegiance or peaceable behaviour; therefore they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mahometan or Pagan. You may say—'Nay, but they will take an oath of allegiance.' True, five hundred oaths! but the maxim, 'No faith is to be kept with heretics,' sweeps them all away. Again—Those who acknowledge the spiritual power of the Pope, can give no security for their allegiance to any government: But all Roman Catholics acknowledge this; therefore, they can give no security for their allegiance. The power of granting pardons for all sins past, present, and to come, is, and has been for many centuries, one branch of his spiritual power. But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power, can give no security for their allegiance, since they believe the Pope can pardon rebellions, high treason, and all other sins whatsoever. The power of dispensing with any promise, oath or vow, is another branch of the spiritual power of the Pope; and all who acknowledge his spiritual power must acknowledge this. But whoever acknowledges the dispensing power of the Pope, can give no security for his allegiance to any government. Nay, not only the Pope, but even a priest has power to pardon sins! This is an essential doctrine of the Church of Rome. But they that acknowledge this, cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no security at all, for the priests can pardon both perjury and high treason. Setting then religion aside, it is plain that *upon principles of reason, no government ought to tolerate men who cannot give any security to that government for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour.*"

of leaving this most essential of all institutions to chance support. As well might we leave all the details of government and civilization to the same chance. The beacons on the sea-shore, the public lights, the public streets and ways, the watching and warding over property and person, the administration of justice, and the details of all these separate branches of administration—all these might with equal propriety be left to chance and choice, as the great and first care, the training of the minds of the people ; or rather, if that *alone* is effectually provided for, all the others might be left to voluntary support, for it would teach the necessity of supporting all the others.

Being settled in this, and at this late hour it is strange that even one word should be necessary upon such a subject, it is stranger still that it should be necessary to argue the propriety of continuing to maintain the lamps of education and religion, from the funds so long and so properly set apart for them. Yet this is necessary. Men even in Parliament, have the folly to speak of the church as “an everlasting burden ” even so far as supported by the tithes, when, in reality it is thus far no burden upon any human being extant :—To propose for persons “not in communion with the established church, relief from all claims for the uses of that church”—meaning thereby relief from the payment of tithes ;—because, it is added,—“the relief of persons not belonging to the establishment can only be effected by the total abolition of tithes as an ecclesiastical payment, or else by appropriating the tithes paid by each individual, to the uses of his own church.” It is admitted, indeed, that “the latter plan would probably be attended with great difficulty, without giving satisfaction to any of the parties concerned ;”—and there the matter is left.

The plan of appropriating the tithes paid by each individual to the uses of his own church, would not *only be difficult of execution, but impossible ; for*

waving the consideration of the number of sects, and the folly, not to say worse, of many of them, suppose persons to be of *no sect*, and they must keep their tithes to themselves, or pay them as they do now to a peculiarly privileged church.

But the argument just quoted points at another view; namely, that of paying tithes, but not “as an ecclesiastical payment:”—but, in other words, to the State. This is at least admitting that tithes are due, and fall to be paid to some quarter. Another point established, namely, that the payment to a church supported by law is the most profitable use that can be made of the tithes, and the whole question is ended.

That tithes are payable to some quarter is indisputable. Every existing land-owner has received possession of his property under that burden. He knew it, he counted upon it, and if he himself purchased the property, he deducted the value of the tithes from the price of the land: tithes, therefore, are due from land-owners, as part of the price of their estates. Again, every farmer or occupant of land, on entering upon his lease, knew that the burden of tithe existed; he counted upon it, and deducted it from his rent. If the farmer should contrive to free himself from the payment of tithe, he would so far escape from a payment absolutely due from him; and if the landowner should find it possible to escape from the payment of tithe, he would, upon the expiry of existing leases, be so far enriched for ever beyond his right. It is of no consequence to the payers of tithes, as payers, to what end they shall be appropriated; for at least they are not theirs. Whatever may be their persuasion, the payment is due; and if THE STATE has appropriated it to the maintenance of an establishment of which they do not choose to avail themselves, that does not make the payment a burden, or inflict any injustice. All *that follows* is, that they choose to decline taking *advantage of a public establishment which is open to*

them. If they voluntarily burden themselves for another and peculiar establishment, that is their affair.

Of course, from what has been said of the necessity for providing sound instruction for the people, under the especial care of the State, it follows that the funds so long devoted to that object, appear to have been wisely so devoted, and that their destination could not be altered with advantage.

But though the funds appropriated to the maintenance of the Protestant Church may have been wisely so appropriated as a general measure, the details of the appropriation may be very injudicious; and we are clearly of opinion that the regulation of the whole is with the State. It is nearly four years since the writer of this, in a paper on this subject, said, "The tithe is a great and fortunate reserve of our forefathers, which it is now necessary we should appropriate." It is therefore evident that we are not wedded to old systems.

Our ideas upon the farther details then were, and now are, equally decided; and they are as follow:—

First. We think the whole church lands in Ireland, (and in England too,) should, if possible, be considered and treated as the general property of the church, and subject to be applied for its general benefit. This is expedient, and it is not unjust; because, in this particular subject, no one has an individual interest beyond his own life.

Second. Church lands should be let, precisely like other lands when best administered; that is to say, *upon leases*, at *proper rents*, and for a *proper number of years*; excluding *finer* for the benefit of existing clergymen, to the prejudice of their successors; excluding *under-letting*, as provisions for relatives or favourites; and rendering a lease entered into in contravention of these, or for more than the legal period, or before the expiry of the preceding lease, null. Making the registration

of leases necessary to their validity, would easily regulate this.

Third. Tithes annually valued, are certainly an improper burden ; for they check improvement, by rendering subject to payment as a return of the soil, the enlarged production which is only a repayment of capital. Tithes, therefore, and all other dues of the church which it is proper to continue, should be fairly valued according to the existing state of things ; and that amount declared to be an annual burden on, and payable forth of estates, by their owners, to whomever, and for whatever purposes the legislature may direct. The valuation to be made in grain, and that grain to be converted annually into money by fixed rules, that the returns of this species of property may retain the level of other property ; but the numerical amount not to be increased, or improvements in which the church has no concern would still continue to be paid for ; nor diminished, or she would be injured by circumstances over which she has no control.

Fourth. As the AGISTMENT ACT in Ireland appears to have been a very improper act, its provisions should cease ; and all land not otherwise exempted from tithe, should be rendered liable to this general valuation and commutation, as if the laws of agistment had never been passed.

The fund thus created would form the fund for the maintenance of the church ; and also of schools, which we consider an integral part of the public establishment for instruction.

For the appropriation—

It has long appeared to us quite clear, that the whole country should be surveyed, and divided into such portions as parishes, as a clergyman of ordinary talents and industry might conveniently superintend. That is, where the population is dense, the superficial extent of the parish must be in proportion limited ; where thin, extended : but it would seem, that

no parish should exceed eight or ten miles in length or breadth, and that the church should always, in large parishes, be as nearly central as possible, so that none of the parishioners should be more than five miles from their church, and no considerable portion more than three or four.

Second. The country should be thus laid out, without any reference to existing persuasions, but as parts of this state as a whole; as convenient educational and ecclesiastical sections.

Third. For each of these sections one school at least should be provided, to be in part endowed from the tithes, and conducted upon principles approved by the state; and for each of these sections or parishes, a church and clergyman should be provided or offered, also of the principles approved by the state, and to be maintained by it.

Fourth. Should any of the parishes thus created, be inhabited entirely by persons of a different persuasion from that of the Established Church, then the income that should have fallen to the clergyman of this parish, to be drawn by the state, and accumulated by it for educational or ecclesiastical purposes if considered proper, or applied to the general purposes of the state; but always ready to be returned when a congregation requiring the appointment of a clergyman should arise.

Fifth. Should a portion only of the parishioners differ from the Established Church, then a salary to be allowed to a clergyman, in proportion to the number of his hearers, till it should amount to a full charge. Should it not amount to so many as to occupy the time of a separate pastor, or justify his appointment even on a limited income, a chapel to be erected, to be regularly served by some neighbouring clergyman, upon an allowance proportioned to the extent of his charge.

Sixth. All salaries to have reference to the extent of duties; but no salary of a regularly officiating

clergyman to be less than eighty or one hundred pounds and his residence; no income to be drawn without duty; no two livings, however small, to be held by one clergyman; no parish having so few auditors, as not to justify the appointment of a separate clergyman, to be supplied by any other than the clergyman of an immediate adjoining parish; and if the clergyman of that parish should prove unable, from age or any other circumstance, to supply the vacant parish, then an assistant to be given him, to be paid partly by him, and partly from the funds of the vacant parish. The residence of parochial clergymen upon their livings to be universal, except in case of ill-health; when a curate of proper experience, and enjoying a suitable income, must be appointed; and no church to be unserved for more than two successive Sabbaths upon any account; nor for these, as a system.

These, at least, were the arrangements which we considered should be held in view. We inferred that for all this, and for suitable allowances to clergymen in their several ranks, there were already funds belonging to the church, or that they would be created by the arrangements proposed; for it appeared unquestionable, that the system of taking fines for the continual renewal of leases at inadequate rents, kept down incalculably the regular revenues of the church; and that the modes of assessing and collecting tithes, were equally injurious to all parties. But if sufficient funds should not be thus created, it is a sort of *lex terræ* in Scotland, that instruction to the people shall be provided for, by suitable church accommodation, and suitable incomes to clergymen; for if the tithes are exhausted, or not valued, one-fifth of the free rents of estates may be assessed upon. Even lands held, "with tithes included," are in Scotland liable, in the last resort; and there seems to be no reason why laws so necessary should not be general.

These ideas are fortunately now not new. The bet-

ter arrangement of dioceses, the rounding of parishes, the residence of clergymen on their livings, the abolition of pluralities and sinecures, and even the equalization of incomes, or apportionment with reference to duties, may now be considered not only as points desired, but universally agreed in and conceded. In all these, the heads of the Church not only acquiesced, but were cordially disposed to second the Government; and had the late Government continued in power, (the Conservative, as we must call it), they had, with the entire concurrence of the Church, arranged for bringing in a Bill for enforcing the residence of the clergy, wherever duties were to be done; to render more effectual the late laws for prevention of sinecures; for a better local arrangement of parishes; and for the better guardianship of the revenues of the Church;—and it is certainly but justice to the heads of that Administration to say, that the laws brought in under their auspices, have been distinguished at once by their justice and their efficiency. It is believed, that the two 'Temporalities' Acts already provide sufficiently for correcting the defects of want of contiguity, and too great length of parishes; but they do not provide funds for carrying their provisions into effect; or at least the funds provided are yet inadequate. These things were all proper. Had the principle of letting the Church-lands upon proper leases, and excluding fines, been added, and the commutation of tithes, upon proper principles, rendered universally obligatory, the general principle would have been completed, and its operation would have been useful and healthful.

But these principles were opposed, or rather a farther principle was contended for; namely, that any surplus revenue in the Church should be applied to the general purposes of education. Now, had the purposes that must be accomplished before this new appropriation could take place been defined, and had it been declared that the surplus must

be *general*, and not local ; had the purposes to be fulfilled, in the first instance, been declared to be, to make provision for the reasonable but perfect maintenance of the Established Church, and that the education to be encouraged must be also of the principles recognised by the constitution of these kingdoms, pressing religious opinions upon none, but at the same time not to be interfered with nor mutilated by the dogmas of others, this *intention*, and arrangement by anticipation, might have been very proper. But these were *not* the intentions of the principles contended for. It was obvious, that wherever a surplus could be pointed at, (and the principle of ascertaining it was rendered very clear,) that surplus was intended to be seized, without reference to short-comes in other quarters ; and from the pernicious, and insolent, and most unprincipled conduct of the priests and friars, as *established* by reports to Parliament, in reference to the national schools already erected, it was equally obvious, that the only education that would have been *suffered*, would, in nine cases out of ten, have been purely and inveterately Popish. This would not only have rendered the farther extension of the Protestant Church impossible, by depriving her of all means, but it would have rendered it unnecessary, by corrupting instruction at its source. The PEERS alone have averted this calamity ; and by this, though a mere act of duty, they have, (as we shall speedily show,) done this State an unspeakable service. Farther,—they have shown that THEY ALONE KNEW THEIR DUTY ; that they knew they sat there for the exercise of powers *conferred by the constitution, and not to be created by themselves* ; and that they were bound by all ties to exercise those powers, and those only ; and therefore, the insane ravings against them, and the endeavours to subvert their privileges in the view of subjecting them to popular controul ; and both, *in the hope of taking advantage of the present popular delirium, to re-inthroned the MOLOCH of ignorance*

and despotism termed **POPEERY**,—need not be characterised. The idea of having two Houses of Parliament similarly constituted, to give safety to their proceedings, would not occur to persons interested in their safety; but it was admirably calculated to render both useless, and we must therefore infer that this was the object intended by these movements.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND IN PAST TIMES, AND IMPEDIMENTS TO HER SETTLEMENT AND EXTENSION NOW.

THE real situation of the Church of Ireland has been so little known, and so much misrepresented, that there is a necessity for some farther observations, before any thing like a proper conclusion can be come to. The Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Inquiry is, we believe, allowed to be a monument not only of industry and impartiality, but of right thinking and decision; and it shows many anomalies in the situation of this Church. It shows parishes united (or at least held by one clergyman) that are ten miles asunder; the incomes of three or four parishes drawn by one incumbent, who may happen to reside in neither; audiences without clergymen, and clergymen without audiences; incomes without duty; and last, and least expected, duties without income—at least, without income arising from the spot in which the duties are performed. At first sight, these things appear scarcely explicable, and wholly indefensible. These have been the views adopted of them, and they have been repeated till the public mind has been so saturated with the imputed abuses of the Church of Ireland, that it may appear something like an attempt at paradox to say, that, after all, the Church of Ireland has been from the beginning, and now is what she is, not from

her faults, but from her misfortunes ; and that these last are so distinct and broadly marked, that even yet it is impossible to look at them without being compelled to acknowledge their inevitable influence on the Church, and consequently her individual blamelessness. The ignorance of the public upon this subject is excusable ; for not only is the subject difficult, but it has been treated in a very desultory manner. There is not one general Act on the subject, but there are various Acts, and still the matter is by no means adjusted.

We think it possible, indeed, that some of the offices in the Church of Ireland may now be nearly useless, though at their origin, and for long after useful, in the then state of society. They have continued to be filled up, partly as affording incomes to clergymen, who at the instant of their becoming vacant may have been officiating upon inadequate incomes, and partly perhaps as rewards to clergymen of particular merit, though already tolerably provided for. Even in Scotland there are Deans of the Chapel-Royal, though it has long been a ruin ; but the title and the trifling income are considered allowable distinctions ; and they are generally given to clergymen otherwise sufficiently provided for. It has been remarked by persons desirous of imputing the incomes thus arising as abuses in the Church of Ireland, that the incomes attached to offices nominally the same, are so unequal, as almost to seem parts of a lottery. But this circumstance is, in reality, their best apology. It shows that the incomes have been affected by circumstances impossible to be controlled ; some having fallen off, if arising from land, in consequence of changes in the nature of decline in that quarter ; and others having equally risen, from the accidental advantages of their situation. The feuing of a glebe in Scotland (that is to say, letting it out in leasehold for building, &c.) *has* in more than one instance rendered the incam-

bent affluent, while the clergymen of Scotland generally possess the most moderate incomes. This has never yet been termed an abuse; nor has it been proposed to divide this prize among the members of the Church generally. Yet this is the remedy now proposed for Ireland, and it has not been resisted.

The unions of distant parishes are still more complained of, and at first sight it would seem with more justice. It is explained as follows.—The monks, and other persons of that stamp, however secluded in general, were excellent judges of land; and, profiting by their judgment, had settled in the best parts of Ireland. They possessed large tracts of the richest land, which consequently paid no tithe to the parochial clergy. They had also, in many instances, got possession of the tithes in their immediate neighbourhood. On the suppression of religious houses, both the tithe and land came to the Crown, which, instead of reserving the tithe as a provision for the instruction of the people, granted all to the laity. Hence, in some of the richest parts of Ireland, many parishes pay no tithes to the clergy, and the Impro-priators can scarcely be persuaded to give L.20 or L.30 to a curate; a circumstance, as we think, deserving very especial consideration. Many more parishes pay *no adequate tithes*; and many parishes are *wholly tithe-free*, and pay nothing in that shape to any one. In such circumstances, what was to be done? The plan of UNIONS was adopted; and they are of two kinds, permanent and episcopal. The permanent unions were adopted, where parishes were contiguous and very small, or the amount of tithes, from the above causes, very low; and they were effected after a legal inquiry. The Episcopal unions (or unions by Bishops) were temporary; and they were adopted only where parishes were wholly without Incumbents, all the tithes being in the hands of laymen refusing to contribute any thing.

In such cases, Bishops, when they had it in their power, gave a parish yielding income *under the burden, pro ea vice*, of also serving the cure of *two or three others which paid nothing*, and thus got the duties of *all* provided for. The parishes united in this way might be distant, for the accidental vacancy of a parish yielding income, alone enabled to supply one without income. Curates were necessarily appointed to some of the parishes, and their salaries were not considerable; but, be they what they might, they were, as the parishes thus supplied were concerned, *gratuities* taken from others and given to them. The Church, therefore, has, in so far, been of itself acting upon the principle now contended for by the public. Bishops could only act desultorily, for they had no power of keeping parishes affording incomes vacant, nor of appropriating any part of their revenues, except indirectly, and as has been mentioned. The rector, thus burdened, was perhaps considered a bloated pluralist, when he was really the very reverse. He was supposed to unite the *incomes* of two or three parishes, when he only united their *duties*, with the income of one.

It follows that, in such cases, the fault was neither in the Bishop nor his Incumbent, but in the original alienation of the tithes of the unsupplied parishes, and the utter selfishness of their present holders. We are not clear that this error should not still be corrected, by at least the partial resumption of those tithes. There can be no property *against the State*, where there has been no price paid. It is the interest of every landowner that his tenants should have the means of instruction; and it is his duty to contribute his share. If, from *these and the undoubted public property of the tithes, the clergyman would be overpaid, the surplus should return to the State in the mean time.*

There is another cause for these unions, and also for many of the other anomalies and apparent dis-

orders in the Irish Church, in the very characteristic resolution of "the domestic legislature" of Ireland, (still sometimes contended for by well meaning people,) to withhold the payment of the tithe of agistment, that is to say, from grass lands. It would be vain, we believe, to seek a reason for this law, beyond the personal interests of the legislators; and we have held that it should be considered unconstitutional, and inherently null. It was clearly a regular robbery of the public—because a robbery of the Church as a public institution. It also disturbed the public economy of Ireland. It gave a premium to grazing, and operated as a penalty on cultivation. Bullocks multiplied, and population vanished. The population was not only reduced, but (as usual), the people remaining had not bread; for corn was now become an article of import, and consequently of expense.

"Ill fares the land, to coming ills a prey,
When wealth accumulates and men decay,"

said the POETS: Trash, of course! A great and obvious source of the income of the clergy was swept away directly, in the tithe of cattle, and the other sources were indirectly diminished by the restriction of agriculture and of people. The clergy were not only miserably paid in general, but many additional parishes failed to yield any income whatever to a clergyman, and were thus necessarily *united to others*—All these were derangements of a very extensive nature; but the answer in 1735 was obviously the same as in 1835—"The landlord got a better rent!"

Fortunately these islands were at last driven on their own resources: they were compelled to produce corn for their own subsistence, or starve. Grain now became valuable in Ireland for export, as cattle had been; and therefore a bill was introduced for the encouragement of agriculture. This led to the restoration of the incomes of the clergy, but *not to this alone*. Coupled with the previous re-

duction of their numbers, (at least so far as holders of benefices,) and particularly with the excessive rise of price in corn, from an exuberant circulation, it tended to raise their incomes as far above the mark as formerly they had been beneath it; but the arrangements which had been *forced upon the Church*, could not, of course, be immediately abrogated. The existing Incumbents could not be deprived of their livings, however now increased in value; and circumstances, arising out of arrangements over which the Church had no control, of which she had even for a time been the victim, and which were but of yesterday, were denounced as abuses, inveterate and immemorial.

There is yet another change. Before the church could, in any considerable degree, adapt itself to the circumstances of prosperity in which it had so unexpectedly found itself, by dissolving the unions that had been forced upon it, peace came; and with it, not only comparatively free intercourse with other states, and consequently a reduction of the prices of corn from this cause, but also a direct enhancement of the circulation, and reduction of prices from a double cause. The dissevering of unions was consequently arrested, by a cause precisely similar to what had produced them.

These circumstances not only account for many or for most of the irregularities existing in the distribution of revenues and duties in the Irish Church; but show further, that till within the last fifty years, she has not had *the means* of extending herself, her revenues being either inadequate or irregularly distributed; and that, since she has had means, she has been impeded by obstacles arising out of her previous situation, and at last has been arrested in the improvements spontaneously making, by a recurrence of pecuniary difficulties.

To account for her peculiarly embarrassed situation at the instant, it is necessary to mention a still *farther circumstance*. During the period of agri-

cultural prosperity in Ireland, her landowners, in many instances absent, and in more embarrassed or indolent, admitted into the system the land-jobber or MIDDLEMAN, a sort of interjected landlord. These men had not only learned to require large incomes themselves, but they had become liable in payment of large incomes to others, the actual proprietors of the soil. These concurring circumstances led them to drain the occupying tenants to the last shilling for rent, leaving nothing to pay tithe, or even to live on. This was clearly the fault of the middlemen and the tenants united, certainly not of the Church: but the consciousness of this could not void their obligations. The tithe, however, is a subject which, though not considerable, would yet give relief. If the tenant under a lease could rid himself of the payment of tithe, he would enjoy it during his lease. The middleman would be equally benefited, or rather, if his leases are extensive, he would be enriched; and where there are no leases, or at the expiry of existing leases, the landowner would enjoy the whole for ever. This accounts for the eagerness with which the idea of the abolition of tithes has been hailed, upon very ordinary principles; and where antipathy from difference of creeds is to be added, the eagerness must be increased. Even fifteen or twenty-five per cent. would be great gains to any of these parties, and forty per cent. greater still. But can the State be so silly as to sanction either? Suppose the whole abolished, what would follow? In a few years the unthinking farmer would be precisely where he is; and, at the first sale of the land, the newly-acquired benefit of exemption from tithe, would fall to be paid for. No one would *then* be one whit easier than he is at present. Even in the mean time, the existing landowner only would remain substantially benefited. In nine cases out of ten, this would only tend to draining the country still farther of its produce annually; and

the source of instruction for the people would be dried up for ever, without imparting a shadow of countervailing good. In every view, the spoliation at present proposed, is equally unprincipled and inexpedient.

COMMUTE this property, therefore, by all means ; but to *reduce it to any extent*, cannot be justified. If rents are higher than the tenant can pay when combined with tithe, let rents be reduced ; the landowner or his lessor is certainly the party overpaid, and therefore that should bear the necessary reduction. But the tithe, unless it can be shown to be excessive, belongs to the Church or to the State ; and to abandon it in any part to the landowner, is so far to sacrifice to him A PUBLIC PROPERTY.

We consider it unnecessary to waste one word upon the claims of Catholics, or other dissentients from the Established Church, to the subject of tithes. They have nothing to do with it : the property is wholly public ; even the Established Church has no claim to it, but what the law gives it, proceeding upon proper convictions of its utility. That its mild but steady light has not prevailed over the wildfires of folly or enthusiasm, is no argument against its utility, any more than the slow progress of science and civilisation could be against them. Folly, vanity, or abounding wealth, may lead to the setting-up of many glaring private lights, and they may be individually innocent, and even of public utility ; but on the cessation or error of these self-appointed guides, of whom could the wayfarer or the mariner complain ? The public can only depend upon what it has itself set up. This appears a conclusive argument for a public establishment for instruction. We have stated how we think the arrangements for its efficiency might be completed in Ireland. In this we have copied from an Establishment, as perfect in principle as can well be conceived, and which has now stood

the test of centuries with increasing honour, (for even its adversaries imitate it in all that is valuable in their systems)—we mean the Establishment of Scotland. In principle, therefore, we cannot have seriously erred; but there may be many obstacles to the detail. It will be observed with surprise, for one thing, that the supposed over-endowed Establishment of Ireland, is, in the mean time, and has always been, in circumstances of difficulty, not temporary, but inherent; that many of the richest parts of Ireland have no ecclesiastical funds whatever; and that it is only by *supplying one part of the kingdom at the expense of another, that she has any general Establishment.*

We think this should not be. We think it wrong in principle that one part of the kingdom should be supplied with instruction at the expense of another; in many instances it may even be illegal, for many endowments have been specially destined;—that the gifting away of tithes to lay-impropriators, was an exercise of the power of the Crown against the interest of the State; and that the protracted existence of an abuse, instead of being a reason for continuing it, is only a reason for more immediately and decidedly correcting it:—consequently, that where *money* has not been paid, the subject so gifted should be resumed. He is not a statesman who cannot look an abuse in the face, with a *determination* to annihilate it. In the mean time, the following are we believe undoubted, however we may have failed in stating them;—First, That in no probability is there even an adequate revenue at present belonging to the Church of Ireland, if that revenue were properly distributed; Second, That the Church is in no way answerable for the anomalies in her situation; for the extreme wealth of some of her members and the poverty of others; for the incomes existing in her without duties or incumbents in some quarters, and duties and

incumbents without incomes in others ; but that the whole have been produced by circumstances over which the Church had no control ; that she has herself been, on system, applying the incomes arising in one quarter where there was little or no duty, towards supplying the quarter where there were duties without income ; and that both these anomalies, and the imperfect means of enforcing discipline, had long and often been complained of by the heads of the Church. These things, therefore, as we said, leave her blameless in all these respects, and entitled to praise in regard to many of them. Her tendency to promote the best interests, and engender the best elements of society, and these only, need not be reverted to ; nor her patient acquiescence in every sort of trial ; nor, consequently, can it be necessary for us to repeat our opinion, that by every means in our power she should be assisted and supported. But we do repeat it, earnestly and explicitly. We repeat farther, that to support at least A PROTESTANT CHURCH is a fundamental law of this Empire ; and that it is not a mere act of Parliament, brought in insidiously, and passed corruptly or foolishly, that can alter this point.

They say that Scotland and England have churches preferred by the majority of the people, and why should not Ireland ? But let such look at THE CHARACTERS of the two. Let them look at this in particular, that the Churches of Scotland and England, though standing on a foundation not made by human hands, yet submit themselves in all things lawful to the State ; and that the Assemblies of the Church of Scotland are even presided by a Commissioner of the Crown.

We believe it will never fall to be submitted to the HEAD of this State to alter these arrangements, proceeding on principles so rational, and purchased by so much blood. But if it should, no doubt HE will consider, that the well ascertained

sentiments of a majority, at once of THE INTELLIGENCE and of THE PROPERTY of the State, can ALONE release him from THE OATH HE HAS SWORN; for the Constitution is the guardian of PROPERTY, as well as of PERSON.

LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS NECESSARY IN IRELAND.

BUT it is not in the management of her soil, the distribution of her people, or the means of rational instruction, that Ireland is deficient only; her laws in other respects are imperfect, or they are in abeyance. It is possible indeed, or rather it is certain, that the imperfect information of the people, or, to speak more correctly, the gross perversion of so many of them, is the cause of all the other derangements in her situation, including imperfect laws, and the imperfect administration of these laws. Three fourths of the people are in such a situation, that they are neither fit to govern, nor be governed, on usual principles; and while power is necessarily withheld from INCAPACITY, the country is exclaimed against, as withholding it from persons of particular persuasions. In legislating for herself, information must necessarily precede improvement; but as matters stand, the experience of the other portions of the empire may be made available to her as she is.

In endeavouring to show the propriety of transferring some of the institutions of the other parts of the State, we turn to SCOTLAND, not only because we know her best, but because we think she is entitled to this distinction. It is but just to her to say, that both in instructing and repressing, Scotland has shown an example beyond all praise. Other countries have said, that 'ignorance of the law cannot excuse;' Scotland alone took measures to make ignorance of the law impossible, at a very early period of her settled government. It is two hundred years since

an enlightened and efficient clergy were spread *over the face of SCOTLAND*, the lands in every parish being made liable for their proper maintenance, with proper residences, and with churches suitable in their situations; or, where the lands were not liable, substitutes have been found. Simultaneously with this, SCHOOLS were endowed in every parish, and their care devolved by law upon the Clergy, and the Proprietors of the districts. Nor was this all; both the law and the habits of the people rendered it necessary for all expecting to live in communion with them, to avail themselves of these advantages. The clergymen did not withhold the privileges of the Church for searching the Scriptures, but if they were not searched; they did not refuse to marry because the fees were not forthcoming, (for there are no fees exigible for this or for any other office), but if the parties seemed unable to maintain, or to instruct a family: And they did not drive children from school because they read there the Christian volume, but they urged them to it, that they might read it. They met their people, not to administer unmeaning rites, in a language which they did not understand, but to prepare them for worthily receiving those rites, by explaining their import in the clearest language, and the conduct necessary to entitle to partake in them, in language equally clear. Above all, they did not inculcate, that the rites being administered in *any* circumstances, would be efficacious *if but administered*; on the contrary, they taught that they were of no efficacy unless administered *in proper circumstances*; and they made this *their* only warrant, and the only ground for confidence in the receivers. They never leagued with criminals, by receiving the confession of crimes, and at the sametime *concealing*, and *pretending to pardon them*; on the contrary, they were the sternest censurers of every *transgression*, passing over the slightest, only up-

on due reparation; and if a crime against the civil law had been confessed, they would not only have disclaimed all power to pardon it, but they would have enjoined submission to the proper authorities, and, upon refusal, would have declared that they must themselves denounce it. Of course, the idea of sheltering a criminal by refusing to tell the truth, would appear inconceivable to a clergyman of any Protestant church; that of refusing to save the innocent, if in their power, still more so; and to *swear falsely, under any pretext*, would seem to them, as it is, the act of a wretch abandoned of all good. The testimony of a Protestant clergyman is the highest that can be given. Contrast this with the conduct of the priests of Rome, and the very great difference in the effects of the ministry of the two, cannot surprise. The priest of Rome seems the fit associate only of criminals, the Protestant minister obviously calculated to preserve from crime.

At the same time the landowners of Scotland, through their Representatives in its parliament, voluntarily assessed themselves to repress crime, and to pay all damages that might follow from a violation of the law, collecting it again, to the proper extent, from their tenants. They in this way formed the whole community into a body for insuring against crime, by rendering each, according to his interest, liable in the consequences: The money so assessed and collected was termed 'Rogue money.' The horror of crime, or of being connected with crime, formed the last and best guard, upon which no people in the world have shown themselves more sensitive than the people of Scotland.

As if all this had not been enough, they committed the administration of the law in the different counties, not to mere men of property in the counties, and so with personal interests or prejudices or fears; nor to men appointed from year

to year, and so necessarily inexperienced or uninformed; nor even to men of merely good general information; but to regularly educated lawyers, selected for their talents, and integrity, and general judgment; having no local connections; holding extensive powers, and answerable for the due use of them; and lastly, duly paid. In this way, these men have not only every opportunity of acquiring experience, but also every incentive to use it to the best of their powers, for the advantage of the community. These are the Sheriffs of counties.

As Ireland and England too, might be benefited by the adoption of this last regulation, we may be pardoned for dilating a little farther. Sheriffs of counties in Scotland, are not merely magistrates of *police*; they are also LOCAL JUDGES in all causes above a certain sum, and even for *small sums* they now hold occasional courts, at regularly recurring periods. They are assisted too, not by a mere constabulary, (tho' they have regular constables, and can cause every man in the kingdom assist them in the same capacity if necessary), but also by officers called sheriff's officers and messengers-at-arms, men well instructed in their duties before admission, of undoubted intelligence and intrepidity, and finding security for their conduct. Upon these officers, and upon one another, the sheriffs can rely, and the county magistrates can rely upon *them*. They correspond with their principals, (generally residing in Edinburgh,) and they with the highest criminal officers in the kingdom, and these again with the Judges, or with the Secretary of State.

From this institution Scotland derives two kinds of advantages of infinite consequence. First, In every county it has a CONSTANTLY RESIDENT JUDGE, of experience and integrity, for the decision of almost every species of cause, in addition to the usual burgh and county magistrates, for

the despatch of small causes. This brings justice to the door of every man, directly and cheaply, a circumstance that in ENGLAND seems to be anxiously avoided. Next, It has not only a constantly resident CRIMINAL JUDGE and OFFICER of the greatest experience, but from the detail here given, it will be seen that a chain of authority extends over the kingdom, of such materials and strength, that it may be called a net-work of iron ; a universal grasp ; extending from the Secretary of State to the Law Officers of the Crown, the Sheriffs, and even to the sheriff's officers, and through them to every member of the community ; for none dare resist them, or refuse to assist them in the legal discharge of their duties, and they are too well instructed and superintended, to render the legality of their proceedings doubtful. Besides, the people know their duty too well to themselves and to the public, to resist or not willingly second the lawful authorities ; certainly they have no unjudging sympathy for criminals. Therefore, if crime is committed in Scotland, detection and seizure of the criminal are almost inevitable ; and the idea of disturbing the public peace to any serious extent, must be the thought of a madman. And this system is as unexpensive as it is efficient ; for in hardly any county in Scotland does it exceed L.1000, the salary of a useless assistant barrister.

Farther—Criminals being detected, or even crime committed, no private individual is involved in the trouble of pursuing, no witness bound over to appear in evidence. A procurator-fiscal, or public prosecutor, exists in every county in Scotland, who, in all criminal cases, and in many that are civil, but of a public nature, is bound by his office to act for the public ; and he once informed of any delinquency, whether publicly or privately, not only is no one troubled to urge justice on, but its course cannot be arrested or impeded. The procurator-fiscal or public prosecu-

tor inquires, and must inquire, into all the circumstances, and collects the necessary evidence; witnesses are compelled to come forward indeed, but not with loss or inconvenience to themselves; on the contrary, if the witness requires delay, the cause will be postponed; and if his absence is *unavoidable*, a legal remedy is provided. The public interests are never neglected on the one hand, and the public is never trampled on, *in its own name, and by its own servants*, on the other. The administration of justice is made terrible to offenders, but to offenders only; for all persons assisting in it are respected, as for the time, in the discharge of a public duty. *

Again—In Scotland, a witness in a cause, if inclined to avoid doing his duty, is compelled to do it. He *must* speak, or weight after weight may be put upon his breast till he expires! And he must speak the truth, at whatever peril, for he knows there is none equal to that of the law. If he is seen to prevaricate, he is instantly imprisoned; if he is proved to speak falsely, he is tried and transported. On the other hand, to injure him on the part of the accused, would bring *certain* vengeance on that party; for the law *could* not rest until its authority had been vindicated. In short, in Scotland the law never suffers itself to be trifled with. Scotland, therefore, *must* be intelligent, *must* be peaceable, from the force of its institutions. If originally it owed its system to its character, it may now be said to owe its character to its system. There is no truce with ignorance,

* These particulars were also recommended to the notice of Government; and it has been mentioned, that of late attorneys in counties in Ireland have been clothed with something like the faculties of the public prosecutor in Scotland. The writer knows nothing of the *details*,—having only heard of the fact through the public papers. Of course, this officer, even by himself, may do something; but comparatively little, unless the other parts of the system are put in harmony.

turbulence, or crime. Thus has character been formed in Scotland, and thus it is preserved. Apply this to Ireland; and it is impossible not to see, that instead of being tyrannically governed, the great fault in her case is, that she has never been governed at all! That she is as yet in many places wholly unreclaimed in her people, as she is in her soil; or rather, has been allowed to run to waste and perversion, by being too often left to herself. At every step the defect may be seen that leads to the disorder.

First—Neither her children nor her men (of the lower orders, and of the Catholic persuasion in particular) are instructed. They have therefore no ambition as to improving their condition, no pride in preserving their independence, no idea of thinking for, and governing themselves, (or they are wrong ideas), nor of their interest in the administration of justice, or in the general preservation of property or character, or even of life, beyond that of their immediate friends; or, if they have any of these things, they do not show it. The reasons are obvious. The church in Ireland, so far as Protestant, is defective in its arrangements, and must, we think, have been deficient also in energy; and so far as Catholic, it is detestable, with very few exceptions. A flaming Patriot of the day, wishing to blazon the merits of the priesthood, delivered himself as follows:—
 ‘ If a man is in want, who feeds him? The priest. If in sickness, who consoles him? The priest. On the dank ground where he lies expiring, who may be seen stretched beside him, administering the last rites of his religion, and whispering its last consolations in his ear? The priest. If stained with crime, who attends and consoles him in his misery? The priest. If he dies, leaving a family unprovided for, who goes round collecting the alms of the charitable for its benefit? The priest.....the priest!!’ We quote from memory, but this was the substance.

and it was doubtless intended to be eloquent. The medal has a reverse. What brings this man into want? In nine cases out of ten, his ignorance and improvidence. Who makes him ignorant and improvident? The priest. Who brings him to the dank ground when dying? The priest. Who makes it necessary, at the last moment, to attempt to speak peace where there is no peace? The priest. Who allows his people to stain themselves with crime, without warning or remonstrance? The priest; and to die in beggary, leaving families to be maintained by charity? The priest, the priest, the priest!

Ireland, it is believed, has never endowed parochial schools; nor would it seem to promise any thing useful as matters stand. Parliament has lately endowed some, under the title of NATIONAL SCHOOLS. It has even provided books, paring religion so completely on both sides, as to have left none in the middle. Farther still—It was expressly provided, that there should be no intrusion on the part of the clergy on either side. What has been the result? The clergy of the Establishment have obeyed the injunctions of the law, and abstained from visiting the schools; but the Catholics have not. On the contrary, the PRIEST and FRIAR present themselves *every morning and evening*; occupy the time that should be devoted to instruction in the exercise of their unintelligible mummeries; have cast the books provided by Government *into the fire*, and substituted the trash of Catholicism, ten times worse than ignorance; and finally, *march the children, without distinction, every Sunday to chapel!* Irish parents and schoolmasters endure this, and *Irish legislators LAUGH AT IT.* Happy country!

Next—Ireland is the scene of continual riots, fire-raising, private assassinations, and public murders. The reason is, she is unteachable. The government which Scotland insists for, because it

is strong, the very false or foolish friends of Ireland would exclaim against as tyrannical. She has, therefore, no fixed stipendiary magistrates, but on the contrary rural magistrates, very weak or very negligent. Legally uninformed, they are doubtful of their own proceedings, and so inspire no awe; weak or wrong-headed, they inspire no feeling but of opposition and ridicule. More extraordinary still, stipendiary magistrates are often temporarily appointed from necessity, and they quiet the districts; but this suggests no lesson; on the contrary, it is observed, that the moment that quiet is established, *the recal of the stipendiary magistrates is petitioned for*, as if their continuance were dangerous to the disorders of Ireland.

Farther—Even in administering justice in the highest criminal courts, there is no solemnity, and consequently no proper sense of the nature of the business in hand. Perjury in witnesses upon the most solemn occasions, is laughed at by Court and Counsel; and the grosser perjury the greater joke. The judge is but just dead, who could even jest with a criminal on condemning him to death! * Now the great object of administering justice publicly, is, first, to secure its purity, and, next, to make it an example. But with Counsel and Judges laughing at crime, and Priests ready to pardon it, there is no chance that the impression can be salutary, and in Ireland it is not.

Therefore, not only the instruction and the institutions of this country are bad, but its moral feelings also seem imperfect. The *morale* of its land-owners must be bad, for they seem utterly indifferent to the situation of their tenants, or to

* This is a well known fact, but to prevent doubt, the dialogue may be repeated. "Please your honour, give me a *long day*," implored the criminal—"I'll give you the *longest day in the year*," said the judge; and ordered him to be executed on the 22nd of June!

the interests of the state, and it is said they are little scrupulous in looking after their own. If this is not true, it is a pity it should have been allowed to be repeated so often. The *morale* of its lawyers, must be indifferent, for they seem to have little sense of the dignity of their duties: their greatest exhibitions have always been on the wrong side: in turning crime and folly into wisdom and virtue, and branding the attempt to preserve order as tyranny. And cumbrous, and useless, and disgracefully disproportioned as the expenses of obtaining justice in every case are, they have never, that we know of, proposed one step in mitigation. The *morale* of her Judges must, in some kinds of them at least, be indifferent, or they would hardly suffer perjury to be made a jest of in their presence; and if this is not the fact, it is imputed; and the *morale* of her Statesmen must be BAD, or they could not have witnessed these disorders and miseries from generation to generation, without decidedly redressing them.

What, then, is to be done with Ireland?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH IRELAND?

WE have been endeavouring to answer this question through many pages; and we have now only to recapitulate and condense our suggestions. In the mean time, if any friend of Ireland has felt hurt, we hope it has been only that he had not anticipated these animadversions, and by speaking with equal candour or severity, and more knowledge of the subject, rendered the impression of the points to be amended deeper, as well as the determination to amend them. Certainly it is impossible to think of the many beauties and capabilities of this country, without wishing that it *might be more* the scene of enjoyment to many of

its inhabitants. Can we have erred, or do we yet err, in the various suggestions we have made?

We have suggested,—

I. A general letting of the land on leases, of proper duration; on terms declared fair by persons of skill; in portions equal at least to the maintenance of a family; **UNDER PROPER REGULATIONS AS TO MANAGEMENT**; excluding all subletting or assigning, except where a tenant may have made improvements which he or his family cannot otherwise reap; encouraging improvement of land and amelioration of houses, by giving a sufficiently lengthened interest in the one, and making suitable payment for the other, at the end of the lease.

These are the principles on which land is let in Scotland, except where the landlord may choose to erect the necessary buildings at his own expense. By the plan of paying for them at the end of the lease, the landlord in reality advances nothing; for the new intrant to possession pays the outgoing tenant, and is himself repaid at leaving. Many landowners in Scotland now fix their rents, or part of their rents, in grain, convertible into money at the price of the year.

II. We have recommended extending the sphere of agriculture, by a vigorous and simultaneous appropriation of the many fertile acres Ireland possesses, by obtaining acts to unfetter heirs in possession under burdens, and by whatever farther regulations may be necessary.

III. We have recommended drawing off the surplus population from the land, by the establishment of manufactures or manufacturing villages in proper sites; by making roads, building bridges, and dig-

ging canals, where proper, and by improving the navigation of the many lakes and rivers with which the country is so admirably intersected.

IV. We have recommended for the relief of immediate misery in the aged and decrepit, a Poor Law, so limited as to render abuse impossible, being limited precisely to the actual amount which the support of the aged and decrepit may require ; and guarded farther by this, that though the fund must be compulsorily created, it is to be gratuitously distributed ; giving no claim, but such as may arise from the circumstances of the parties, well considered ; and no maintenance even to decrepitude in a poor's-house, beyond what decrepitude self-supported, may reasonably be contented with.

V. We have recommended, that the spread of the PROTESTANT CHURCH shall be provided for, in various ways : By letting her lands uniformly, upon leases of proper endurance, at fair rents, and without fines ; by having all tithes and other sources of revenue proper to be continued, fairly valued and commuted ; by having these and all other income of the Church considered a general property, (so far as that may be legal), and distributed rateably in proportion to the duties to be performed ; by the better arrangement of parishes ; by universal residence ; and, finally, by at least a partial resumption of the tithes that have been gifted away to lay-impropriators ; because they have been so to the great prejudice of the State which was the giver, and to the discredit of those who received them without value, and would retain them without reserve.

VI. We have recommended that SCHOOLS shall be erected and endowed in every parish, for the dissemination of sound and useful knowledge, under the inspection of the civil Magistrate, the Landowner, and the established Clergy—and admitting the

visits of Clergymen of all denominations, as well as the public generally, upon proper occasions ; but to be intruded upon, *interrupted, or perverted by none, under the highest penalties ; THESE BEING TEMPLES DEDICATED TO THE HIGHEST PURPOSES OF THE STATE.*

VII. We have recommended THE MODIFICATION, or, if that cannot be effected, THE SUPPRESSION of ROMANISM : considering it as an entirely POLITICAL INSTITUTION, wholly unnecessary in these kingdoms, and as pernicious as it is useless ; being calculated only to pervert and brutify the people, and betray them into the perpetual commission of folly and irregularity ; and, as is shown by all history, to prepare them for the occasional perpetration of the most atrocious crimes.

There are many respectable men at present connected with this system, even as Priests, who would gladly make a transition, not perhaps to Protestantism, but to something so near it as to leave no essential difference. CROLY is one, and an host, for he appears to be equally temperate and rational ; and though he may not have gone far enough as yet, it is impossible but, on feeling his ground secure, he would go farther ; and there are, we believe, many others. They should be encouraged, by affording all possible protection to them and to their flocks. They promise to be the Fathers of a final Reformation.

VIII. Along with these plans of general amelioration, we have recommended a more correct and rigorous administration of the law, by appointing resident Stipendiary Magistrates of the highest class, and of steady character, in every county ; assisted by Officers also of proper character and properly instructed ; instead of the present district Magistrates, with an occasional Co-assessor, and the expensive and irregular adjuncts, of a heavy standing army, or an *ambulatory police.*

IX. As THE LANDOWNERS of Ireland are in so many instances absent, and they or their Representatives have shown themselves so long and in so many instances, to be either too indolent, or unpatriotic and incapable, to leave a hope that they can be useful as a body in seconding such arrangements, we have recommended that a permanent Board should be formed for their direction and inspection, under authority of an Act of Parliament; the members to be wholly unconnected with ministerial changes, but to act under the inspection of Government; and to be assisted by resident Landowners, or their Commissioners, but not impeded or controlled.

LASTLY. In all these, we have suggested the strong and irresistible direction and the partial pecuniary assistance of **THE STATE**: that **THE NATION** as well as **IRELAND** may enjoy **IMMEDIATELY** the benefits to arise from them, as well as escape from the burden which the present state of Ireland entails; and be relieved also from the disgrace of being able to direct with efficiency the government of the most distant colonies, without being able to rescue from misery and anarchy an immediate province of the Empire.

If we have erred in these, we have erred against **ALL ANALOGY**, and also the best intentions. For we have proposed nothing for Ireland that we have not seen in useful operation at home; and it would give as great pleasure to see Ireland as happy as it is rich and beautiful, as it would give pride to feel that we have in any degree contributed to it.

We need not say, that it is not by *topical* applications that a disease of *the system* is to be cured. These are only likely to create greater evils, by causing the disease work inward, and destroy the constitution. Neither is it by laws repressing *apparent evils* as they arise, that a state is to be benefited; but by internal remedial measures removing

the cause of the evils. These are *cures of the system*, and therefore *true cures*. They operate gently, naturally, and effectually. Such measures, like seed sown, grow naturally to strength and maturity. The measure of legislating for every event, without regard to its cause, is like patching a building that has no proper foundation; and the moment the props are removed, the whole must fall to the ground.

This has been completely the case with Ireland. Pressure from without has been the constant remedy, without once dreaming of applying a vigorous hand within. The remedies proposed in these pages are few, and simple, and obvious; yet duly administered they would change the face of Ireland, and turn it from a land of ignorance, poverty, misery, turbulence and crime, into what it was by Nature intended to be, one of the finest provinces of this or any State. If this could be the *EFFECT*, the homeliness of the means may be disregarded.

But other and greater men are contending for higher principles? This is said; but what are those higher principles? Liberty! For men who cannot govern themselves?

“ This will not, and it cannot come to good ! ”

JUSTICE TO IRELAND ! This, we are told, is vociferated by eight millions of throats. Justice to Ireland? In what has it *not* justice? Let it bring in a bill of wrongs, plain, explicit, and supported by evidence; and instead of endeavouring to unhinge the frame of government, let it bring also in a bill of *rights*, and see if there is one man in the empire desirous of opposing it. But where, in the meantime, is justice withheld? It has the same laws as England, reinforced by laws of its own. The *details of both* are execrable it is true; being invented, as it would seem, not only to impede justice, and render its pursuit as expensive and disgusting as possible, but to render its attainment impossible in

nine cases out of ten, and scandalously over-expensive in every case. This is admitted ; but has Ireland ever complained of this ? or proposed a remedy, and been refused ?

The system of letting the land in Ireland seems to have been, and to a certain extent still is, as bad as possible. This also is admitted ; but has Ireland ever proposed a change, and been refused ? If it has, why has it not made itself heard and felt, by a vigorous and simultaneous statement of its grievances, and of the measures it desires to be substituted ? Surely the middle classes have an existence in Ireland, as well as everywhere else ; and it is their interest to see the country prosperous, and *their duty* to stand up against its oppression.

Is it because the taxes in Ireland are LOWER than in any other part of the kingdom, that it considers itself to have injustice ?

Is it because more public money is spent, or mis-spent in Ireland, than in any other quarter of the empire, that it considers itself to have injustice ?

Is it because a court is kept up within it, with the avowed object of encouraging residence, and circulating money, that it considers itself to have injustice ?

Is it because seven hundred thousand pounds of the money of the Empire is circulated in it annually, in the pay of the soldiery which it renders necessary, independent of other establishments with the same object, that it considers itself to have injustice ?

Is it because crimes, that in other parts of the kingdom would lead to the apprehension, trial, conviction, and extirpation of the whole inhabitants of the offending districts, are passed over as natural occurrences in Ireland, that it considers itself to have injustice ?

Is it because half the time of both Houses of Parliament is occupied in hearing endless demands, and considering endless measures, for the behoof and government of the one tenth of the Subjects of the

Empire which the people of Ireland constitute, that it considers itself to have injustice?

Does IRELAND consider itself to have injustice? No! The rational majority of its people see, that though there are many things requiring to be amended, Ireland itself, and Ireland only, is to blame; that instead of having injustice, it has *more* than justice; and that the good wishes, the liberality, and the patience of the Empire are unparalleled. Give *some* of its people liberty, and there would be *no liberty for others*; give *them* privileges, and they would use them only to *subvert all the privileges of others*. The whole noise, and turbulence, and disorder, and misery, proceed from one quarter and one cause; from the leaven of ignorance and folly, and unprincipled and silly ambition, which has been allowed to fester about the roots of society in Ireland, in the Priests of Rome. These men, grossly ignorant in themselves, and upon system bound to the perpetuating of ignorance in others; *sworn* to the service of a foreign Despot equally ignorant and indifferent to his own glory and the good of mankind; and seeking, with all the eagerness of blindness and senility, to grasp again an authority that has passed from their hands for ever; these men incite their miserable followers, and cause them to be incited, by every false pretext, to every foolish or ferocious act that can indicate a determination to be dissatisfied, till *their* objects shall be attained; till Romanism shall again be acknowledged as a paramount *religion*, and entitled to repossess all emolument and authority. This is the sole source of all the outcry in Ireland, the sole object sought. JUSTICE to IRELAND is shown to mean exclusively, *first*, the placing of Catholics on the Bench and in the Magistracy; and, *next*, installing its priests in the Cathedrals and their revenues. The only *acts* of the government that give real satisfaction to the noise-mongers in Ireland, are such as tend to these. The appointments of Catholic counsellors to places

of authority, is acknowledged at once, and loudly. *This is a real evidence* of the intention of the Government to do '*justice to Ireland*;' this is acknowledged loudly and reiteratedly, *and nothing else is*. To support a government that will *do this*, nothing can be too much. The best men in the kingdom are vilified, the best measures despised and trampled on, the best institutions proposed to be destroyed without reserve and with exultation:—*This, this alone, is to do 'justice to Ireland!'*

Now, who can trust a man ON THE BENCH, who, IF HE IS A CATHOLIC, must believe as follows?—*viz. that bread is not bread!* that he may not, *without damnation*, eat meat on a day forbid, unless he have the permission of a priest? that a piece of wood or iron, or the toe-nail of a fool, are to be *venerated*? that he is '*truly to obey*' an authority *alien to this state*? that he is to do '*every thing that in him lies*' to promote the interests of Catholicism? that a priest can absolve him from the most atrocious crimes! and that he is to *hate*, and if in his power *exterminate*, all who think otherwise? Is not THE BELIEF of such things *an evidence of mental weakness, or alienation, sufficient to disqualify from holding any authority whatever*? Above all, is it not sufficient to disqualify from holding office in a State that *thinks otherwise*—in a Protestant State? Is not the minister, who surrenders the institutions he has been intrusted with to SUCH MEN, instead of deserving praise for liberality, deserving of impeachment for dereliction of duty, or deposition for incapacity? And if the men appointed DO NOT BELIEVE THESE THINGS, THEN THEY ARE NOT CATHOLICS; and why torment the State, and cover themselves with suspicion, without any cause?

But the men who can *pretend* that Catholicism is a system of *religion*, 'an ancient religion,'—'the religion of their forefathers,' show, *co ipso*, the *bad timbering* of their brains. They might as well

cry out for Druidism, which is more ancient still ; insist on carrying the misleto instead of ' the Host ;' and insist on sacrificing a man with a wart on his face, to Thor or Woden, instead of a ' Bible-reader,' as they the other day did, or very *strikingly* showed that they desired to do, to the MOLOCH of IGNORANCE and BIGOTRY, the POPE ? In all associations of men, at sea or on shore, *the majority* must decide who shall have places of power. No one must insist that he is ill treated, if power is refused him because he holds certain opinions, if, *in the sense of the majority*, these opinions are *evidence of mental incapacity*. Now, in these kingdoms Protestants form the majority,—and they consider Romanism as an Insanity.

On the same principle, Ireland is not entitled to separate itself from this Empire, or to play the fool while it continues united ; for her separation might compromise the general safety, and her turbulence and folly are discreditable and intolerable.

Therefore, as has been already said, Ireland must be reduced to the same PEACE, and follow the same plans of IMPROVEMENT and PROSPERITY as are found proper for the other parts of the Empire. By this she will be made happy, and by this only. The experience of ages, and of all Europe, shows this. The plans now urged upon her by her pretended friends, are plans that have been everywhere else exploded ; and that, being adhered to by her, have brought her nothing but misery. Finally, such plans only as are favourable to the preservation and increase of a free and rational religion, and consequently institutions, such and such only, can be entertained, by the SWORN SERVANTS OF THIS FREE STATE ; and for the ignorant multitudes of Ireland to contend for any thing else, is not only to contend for the continuance of their own miseries, but to render the most determined measures of final repression indispensable, for their good and the good of *this State*.

CONCLUSION.

I have now done with these Suggestions, and will gladly relieve my reader, if, through a series of discussions so dry and unrelieved, I can have retained attention to this period, or if, amid the tumult of faction, such a book can even have been taken up. But while the last page I intended to give is in the hands of the printer, the case of the Carlow landlords has come on; and what a case! The very air of Ireland seems infected!—The falsehoods alone that are seen to issue from it, seem sufficient to stagger the most intrepid believer in its amelioration. ‘The finest peasantry on the face of the earth!’ (as its very gross flatterers term the peasantry of Ireland), are seen to have neither truth, nor honour, nor spirit, nor gratitude; or, like their landlords, they have been belied. They are the silly, passive, foolish, or frantic instruments of an ignorant and insane Priesthood; and this farther explosion seems to have been necessary to seal the doom of that order as at present constituted.

What is this case? It seems worth preserving. The Carlow landowners were charged, in the face of the whole kingdom, with a persecution so fierce and unrelenting, as to be as terrible as the scourge of an invasion; and upon principles so purely religious and political, as to be wholly indefensible. They were termed ‘The oppressors of the poor’ and the laborious; of the widow and the orphan; the ejectors of hundreds to the pitiless storm; the desolators of villages!’ And the charges were so specific, and the certainty of exposure, if untrue, so imminent, that to doubt them seemed impossible; and they were not doubted. What has been the result? There is not only not the slightest foundation for the charges, but *the very reverse of them is the truth!* Instead of

ejecting *hundreds at once*, they appear only to have ejected *seven* in about as many years, and not upon religious or political grounds, but for unbearable mismanagement. Instead of desolating villages, they have spent much money in preventing them from being dilapidated by their inhabitants; and instead of being harsh in clearing their property even of persons no longer their tenants, they have, in some instances, allowed them to remain in their houses without rent, and in others have given them money to enable them to remove! The whole seems to have proceeded from the machinations of the priesthood, who, it is farther stated, *go from parish to parish, accompanied by crowds of hired accomplices, to enforce their dictates*; and render their chapels the scenes of political agitation *and coercion*, instead of religious instruction;—insulting even and assaulting, to the danger of life, *the wives and families* of individuals, in order to concuss the husband and father into acting as they please.

The details that have thus been brought out, afford instruction in many things; and they, in particular, go to shake our confidence in the justice of those charges of *universal recklessness* so long and generally heaped on Irish landowners; for, so far as the PROTESTANT LANDOWNERS accused in this case are concerned, no men could appear in a light more respectable. If, therefore, I have been led to do injustice to the landowners of Ireland, I regret it, and declare it to have been in the last degree involuntary: But as the suggestions I have made as applicable to the worst cases, would not be unsuitable in the best, so, the adhering to them under this explanation, can hardly offend. So far as Priests or People may deserve differently from what the necessity of their circumstances imposes, and I have been compelled to assume, I would equally desire to correct myself; I can only say, *that according to the best lights I could obtain, the*

state of things in Ireland is such as I have assumed ; such appear to me the causes of its miseries, and such, so far as I can judge, the cures.

And here I should end indeed, but that I have still a few pages to spare.

The propriety of some of my proposals in the preceding pages has been admitted ; but it has been doubted if they can be carried into execution, and this from causes which it seems necessary we should consider. ‘ You seem to forget ’ (says a friend—himself of great personal experience, as well as great general knowledge) ‘ that the Irish landlords, as well as the Irish tenants, are PAUPERS ; with this only difference, that the first are living in reckless extravagance where they can, the last starving at home. The interests of the landlords of Ireland are identical with those of many of our own landed proprietors, and in the hands of the one and the other class of men all legislation is ! To think that, for the prospective good of the community at large, or, more properly speaking, of posterity, these men would set about any such rational legislation as you suggest, and give up present pleasure, dissipation, and rackrenting, is more than I at least can hope from them.’—‘ The legislation you propose is too good to be hoped for, from such Legislators as we have, or are likely to have. Parks and palaces, foxhounds and deers, game preserves, and political profligacy !—form more engrossing subjects with these, than the amelioration of the general condition of the country. The things you speak of have been done in Scotland—but *not* by legislation. A little more sagacity in the landlords, with the thousand natural accidents that have led to the prosperity of her large manufacturing towns, have necessarily extended to some of her villages ; but go and *try to coerce* any noble Marquis, or Lord, or

‘ Squire, in a district not essentially manufacturing, into a plan for establishing manufacturing villages in his grounds, and hear what he will say.’

As this has occurred to one, it may occur to others, and therefore I wish to obviate it. That the Irish tenants are paupers, is the source of all these suggestions ; and their almost exclusive object is, to effect a change in that particular : The landlords can act for themselves. That persons of rank may have wrong views of their duty, is probable ; but legislation does not depend upon any *one class in this country* ; it seems to me *the sole dependence of states*, both for prosperity and preservation ; it has been directly and extensively applied in Scotland and England, in small matters as well as in great ; and if those immediately intrusted with it, refuse, or even neglect to do their duty, in matters so essential as many of those touched upon in these discussions, the writing upon the wall will unquestionably be against them ; they will cease to be intrusted altogether.

I do not propose that a gentleman's pleasure grounds should be invaded, because they may offer a site for a manufactory ; I do not propose that any of his grounds should be so invaded against his will. I know even that there are prejudices against villages ; and only wish that, where the people, having no chance of employment, are calculated only to be paupers, the dislike might at all times operate. But villages set down for purposes of active employment, and drawing wealth to the districts in which they are placed, deserve a very different feeling, and would, I believe, obtain it. It farther happens, that such villages may generally be placed with most advantage where the land is least valuable ; upon the banks of streams with considerable falls, or near bogs yielding fuel, &c. And how many situations of this description might be found in Ireland ! The villages I have pointed at in Scotland, have been placed in situations where, till that period, the land was all but barren, and they have raised rents in their neighbourhood from pence

to pounds. My suggestions, therefore, look decidedly to the interests of *all* parties: to placing villages only where agreeable, and, above all, where *likely to be useful*; and so occupying land generally, as to benefit at once the occupant, and the owner. If, indeed, the landlords of Ireland are drawing more by rack-renting than they could in any probability by managing on usual principles, (a point which I think doubtful), then I must be contented to fall back on my position, that, *to a fair extent*, the interests of the larger number should prevail.

As to the subject of the instruction of the people, I see nothing necessary to be explained or added. I have spoken strongly of Romanism, because it has seemed necessary; but not so strongly as it might have justified. I have avoided *alluding* even, to the filth of THE CONFESSIONAL—a tribunal only fit for absolute idiotism.

In reference to the LAW in Ireland, and its administration, it is impossible almost to know when we have said or done enough. There is an unaccustomedness to the law, among almost all classes in that country, that is quite astonishing. Even Protestant Clergymen appear to have so little confidence in it, that they have allowed themselves to be half-starved before appealing to it. Priests are in the daily habit of compromising offences against the law, of the most serious description, by restoring property stolen and concealing the criminals, or so far restoring it as to render pursuit improbable; and their habitual pardoning, or pretended pardoning of still higher crimes, has in all ages been accompanied, as it is now, by this, that to a Catholic even the shedding of blood has no terrors. The submission of the people generally, to the most tyrannical proceedings on the part of their priests, need not be mentioned; nor their submission to the most atrocious proceedings among themselves; to murders in their *faction fights*, burnings, robbery of arms, shootings and maimings, &c. Even the CORONER, a regular

and important *officer of the law*, seems in IRELAND infected with the general feeling against the law. A case to be inquired into on a late occasion, was the murder of two individuals at Inniscarry; namely, an officer of the law, beaten to death in the attempted execution of his duty, and one of his assailants, no doubt justifiably killed by this unfortunate, in self-defence. The inquiry, if duly followed up, would have established all this; and farther, that many persons still living, and perhaps then present, were chargeable as Accessories to the murder of the officer. But because it was seen that this would be the result of the inquiry, and thereby lead to its proper consequences, of disclosing a conspiracy against the law, and by the consequent punishments rendering such conspiracies in future improbable, the Coroner not only suffered himself to be arrested in the course of his inquiry, but seemed to plume himself on his management in compromising one of the highest crimes, while his duty was to have rendered a compromise impossible.

To crown all, the COUNSELLORS of THE KING'S LIEUTENANT are seen at variance with the highest courts; and the Sheriffs of counties so ignorant as not to know which to obey! In regard to such a country, therefore, it would seem necessary, not only to give good laws, but instructions to use them.

The reason of this halting in the officers of the law is, that they see the people are scarcely responsible agents; and the reason of this ignorance in the people is, that they are under the management of their yet more ignorant priests. It seems to be at present the prevailing dogma, that *Religion*, commonly so called, has no connection, and ought to have no connection, with civil government; and that our lawgivers have *no right* to interfere with the sort of instruction dealt out under the name of religion. I think no mistake could be greater. *The CIVIL LAW* is but an adaptation of the *MORAL*.

The laws of morality are the laws of society. Religion is not only the fountain of law, but the law itself; and consequently, as the Citizen is taught in the Church, he must behave in the Field. Every person reading the volume of Christianity, and hearing the ~~prelections~~ of its Ministers, is in a *course of perpetual instruction* to the most important of all sciences, the science of *self-government*; without which, the civil government is a mere tyranny—no wiser than harness on an untrained horse. He is not only in a course of instruction to the law, but by which he is enabled to *judge the law*. Hence the constant tendency to improvement in Protestant society, and in every society that encourages sound religious instruction. Romanists do not this. They repress *all sound instruction*, and all healthful exercise of intellect. In this country they do more; they pervert and mislead. What government can bear up against this? What government is justified in trifling with mens' happiness by attempting it? The laws of Judea were written on tables of stone; so were those of Rome, and set up in the market place. The Turks have their Koran, and the Chinese their Philosophers, and are instructed in them; and all aspiring to the rights of citizens in all these states, were and are expected to subscribe to those laws, or at least not to gainsay them. In this country, the law says one thing, and the priest (the tolerated instructor of many of its people) another; and persons not only ignorant of our laws, but directly execrating them, not content with living safely under them, insist, while they would subvert, to assist in framing and administering them!

That this is presumptuous seems abundantly clear; a Protestant, with a much purer title, would not so obtrude himself in such circumstances. Their priests are to blame in the first instance, but *they are themselves* restrained and ignorant. Go-

VERNMENT ought not to have the same excuse. It is obvious that the great preliminary to improvement in Ireland of any kind, is, that Catholicism, as it is, shall be suppressed or modified; and therefore it should be suppressed or modified, or all interference with the laws of this country, or the happiness of its people, made *impossible*. A person who believes he can be absolved from swearing falsely, should not even be permitted to bear testimony. He is, by his own act, excluded from the rights of a citizen of any rational State.

Applying this to existing circumstances, the prospect is not bright. Regarding Catholicism as a merely innocent form of religious union, instead of a very pernicious political one, Parliament seems disposed, by a great but ill-judging majority, to extend every species of political freedom, to persons *who are not, and, from the nature of their opinions, never can be free*; and the end (it must be presumed) will be, *as it has always been*, that the persons so intrusted, will be the unjudging instruments of subverting, first the political, and next the religious freedom of this country; or at least of perpetually harassing it by ignorant struggles for that end. It is true, it might seem unduly timid to refuse to give Ireland institutions as a part of this Empire, because they may be misapplied. It is doubting our common reason. But how are we justified to do otherwise? Has the admission of Catholics into Parliament justified it? It is thought not. They have not come in as independent men, forgetting all differences, and acting according to circumstances. In every thing relating to their Sect, they are the mere followers of one man, and in every other question, the mere make-weights of the Government, because it favors them. Has the admission to the political franchise justified confidence? It does not appear. It seems not to have admitted the people to vote, but the priests; to have thrown the power into the hands of one man, the tool of an ignor-

ant and audacious priesthood. Will the admission to *civic immunities* do more? There is at least *no ground* for supposing it. The triumph of principles may be *desired*, but the triumph of party only will be *permitted*. The strongholds of Protestantism will be turned into the strongholds of Popery; *when the law of the LAND must cease*.

Less of this may happen than is apprehended, but such appear to be our present tendencies. And this at least should be remembered—namely, that this country never rose *from* Catholicism, and so showed that Catholicism is not inconsistent with liberty; it only refused to succumb to the last and worst usurpation of Catholicism; and having resisted these, it naturally shook off the whole. This, therefore, was very different from being in any degree subjected to Catholicism in its present state: for at present, and in Ireland in particular, its erroneous tenets are in full and universal observance. The tenets that caused our forefathers—not to separate from the Church, as the general expression goes, but—to throw off those who would have enslaved the Church and them, are now *the distinctive tenets* of Catholicism; in according it the slightest consideration now, we sanction the system in all its deformity; and its ignorant essence is, that it glories in declaring and showing itself to be unchanged and unchangeable. Individuals are only admitted to their rights *gradually*, and on maturity, or presumed maturity of mind, and so should communities. Communities are even occasionally disfranchised for the faults of Individuals; which is unjust, as the Individuals only should be punished; but in according the rights of Protestant Citizens to Catholic Communities in a Protestant State, we are according rights to communities who, by their continuing Catholic, declare that they neither deserve the rights, nor intend to deserve them: for they are bound to another allegiance, they are trained to other laws; and not merely *to silently hating us and ours, but to actively resisting and destroying both*.

NOTE,

AS TO VALUATION OF TITHES, &c.

In writing upon this subject four years ago, after suggesting the valuing of Church lands, as a general property of the church, and to be applied accordingly, if possible, I proceeded as follows:—"The next steps should be, *to have the benefices surveyed and fairly valued*, by men of undoubted character and intelligence, and heartily entering into the system for which they were sent to pave the way." In this I contemplated, and in other parts stated, that regard should be had, not merely to the improved state of land, but to *its natural capabilities*; holding, that where the natural capabilities had not been taken advantage of, *the estimate should consider them*; and that where much had been produced by improvement, *allowance should be made for the expense*; as tithe ought, from its nature, to have reference especially to the natural capabilities of the soil. In going over the same subject four months ago, it appeared from many circumstances, that to suggest such minuteness of procedure as this contemplated, would be useless, as it seemed impossible that it could be listened to; and I therefore suggested (page 84) that "the tithes and all other dues of the Church which it is proper to continue, should be fairly valued, according to the existing state of things."

I now see that nothing will satisfy but such a valuation as I originally contemplated; objections having already been made to the Ministerial Bill, upon the very principles which such an estimate would obviate. The procedure will be tedious, and delicate, and of some expence, but at the same time it will be just.—The capabilities of *every acre*, however in the meantime employed, should be considered, but regulating the estimate by reference to past and probable future employment.

"The last part of the transaction," (I continued) "or the commutation or sale, should proceed *upon this survey*, (reported of course to Parliament), *supported by undoubted testimony* from all proper quarters." This pointed at a general settlement under the eye of Parliament and the Country. I indeed deprecated all *partial* settlements, and *all private and consensual settlements*; considering tithes a public property, and to be publicly administered. I see no reason for altering these opinions. I think the power of settlement should neither be in Individuals, nor in Dioceses, nor Commissioners, but in Parliament, proceeding on approved reports; that there should be no *Bribe* to the Landowner by deduction of 25, or any other per cent., nor any future estimate of the subject; the natural capabilities of the soil being unchangable, and payment for improvements being especially to be avoided. Fixing the amount in *grain*, convertible into money annually, will sufficiently provide for the permanent value of this subject; or, if this shall be doubted, a *maximum* or a *minimum* price may be fixed.

The plan for converting grain into money, for the purpose of regulating the Incomes of Clergymen in Scotland, is as follows. At or about 2d February in every year, the Sheriff of every county impanels a Jury of Farmers, for the purpose of declaring the *medium* price of the different kinds of grain, by which these incomes are paid, and their verdict is conclusive. This is termed, Striking the Fairs. The plan is sufficiently correct in this respect, that while the farmers are well acquainted with the subject, they have generally no personal interest in the result; and there has never been a suspicion of the purity of the verdicts. Reference to returns of markets has been proposed; but, if adopted, it should be under correction. The returns at present trusted to at least, for regulating the duties on Corn, are supposed to give rise to the most nefarious practices, and to be the engine by which the Country is robbed, while the Farmer is not remunerated.

As I have spoken much of the sinister influence of the Priests of Rome in Ireland, I may show, by some farther quotations from the verses from which I have borrowed my motto, that it is not in these pages only, that this order is accused.

"Ye Priests! as ye roam on your cheerless behest,
 The waste to retain evermore as a waste;
 To banish Improvement and light from the scene,
 Still keeping the Son what his Fathers have been,
 The Lord of a hovel along with the brute!
 And bound in his soul as your purpose may suit;
 Devoting to You his last crumb and last cup,
 And adoring the Idol himself has set up!
 Cannot centuries passed in a bondage like this,
 Entitle to *look on* the regions of bliss?
 Can you callously stand in a land of delight,
 And forbid it to beam on the soul or the sight?
 Must no sun but of sorrow e'er set on its wave?
 And a reptile still blight what Omnipotence gave?
 Every hapless believer descend to his grave
 A Bigot, a Beggar, a Fool and a Slave!
 If so, and it seems as such madness were thine,
 Then perish forever the Priest and the Shrine!
 Be the name and the office forgotten on earth,
 Unless to forbid they again should have birth!
 Let IRELAND at once from its miseries rise,
 And the Clay and the Spittle so long in its eyes,
 Be blessed as of old, to give strength to its sight,
 And banish for ever the Visions of night!—
 But lo! where the MANIAC, unshaven and foul,
 At the word of his PRIEST or his Friend gives a howl,
 And death in his heart, in his hand, in his eye,
 He rushes to violence, he knows not for why!
 The Battle is furious and frantic and long,
 'Mid the screamings of females and shouts of the throng,

And blood like a thing of no value is shed !

* * * * *

“ First Flower of the Earth and first Gem of the Sea !”

(As thy flatterers call thee) be warned by me ;—

Be wise, and in time, or you quickly may be,

Last plague of the Earth, and last blot in the Sea.”

I have now done my duty ; it is for Parliament
and the Public to do theirs.







the 1990s, the number of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia has increased in the United Kingdom (Meltzer 1996). This has led to a growing reliance on the use of drugs to manage the condition.

There is a growing awareness of the need to develop a more holistic approach to the management of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia. This approach should take account of the individual's social and cultural context, as well as their physical and mental health. The aim is to develop a more integrated approach to the management of the condition, one that takes account of the individual's needs and preferences. This approach should be based on a partnership between the individual and the health care system, one that is based on mutual respect and understanding.

The aim of this paper is to explore the role of the nurse in the management of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia. The paper will focus on the role of the nurse in the assessment, diagnosis, and management of the condition. The paper will also explore the role of the nurse in the development of a more holistic approach to the management of the condition. The paper will discuss the challenges faced by nurses in the management of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia, and will offer suggestions for how these challenges can be overcome.

The paper is organized as follows. The first section will discuss the role of the nurse in the assessment, diagnosis, and management of the condition. The second section will explore the role of the nurse in the development of a more holistic approach to the management of the condition. The third section will discuss the challenges faced by nurses in the management of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia, and will offer suggestions for how these challenges can be overcome.

The paper will conclude by discussing the role of the nurse in the management of people with a diagnosis of schizophrenia. The paper will emphasize the importance of the nurse in the management of the condition, and will offer suggestions for how the role of the nurse can be enhanced. The paper will also discuss the importance of the nurse in the development of a more holistic approach to the management of the condition.

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